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THE NEW FARM-RELIEF BILL has one merit: it reveals completely the dangers of haste in legislation and of uncritical subservience in the legislative branch of the government to the wishes of the executive. It can be said for the banking bill that the need for immediate action was vital, for the economy measure that its wisdom was almost universally recognized, and for the beer bill that Congressional sentiment was already known to be overwhelming; but none of these things can be said for the new farm bill. That measure would have little chance of passage if President Roosevelt's personal prestige were not so high as it is at the moment. Its introduction seriously undermines that prestige. If it becomes law, it may prove to be the most harmful single piece of legislation adopted in many years, not even excluding the Smoot-Hawley tariff. In principle it is a mere resurrection of the allotment and parity plans, with a few dubious amendments, such as the cotton-option plan, tacked on. What it aims to do is to pay a special class of producers an enormous subsidy—$800,000,000 even on the very modest estimate of the Secretary of Agriculture—at the expense of the general consumer. The last Congress wisely and courageously refused to levy a sales tax of 2¼ per cent, even though that tax exempted most foodstuffs. If the present farm measure goes through, it will mean that Congress is willing to levy a sales tax of from 100 to 200 per cent or more on the necessaries of life, in order to pay over the proceeds to a special group of producers. This tax will not be levied in accordance with ability to pay; among others, it will fall on the 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 unemployed. It will be paid to agricultural producers, not in accordance with individual need, but rather the contrary. The bigger the farm the producer owns, the bigger the bonus that will be paid to him; it will be paid in accordance with his "domestic" production.

IT CANNOT EVEN BE SAID in extenuation of the new farm measure that farmers as a whole, big or small, will benefit at the expense of city residents as a whole. For the producers of only nine commodities—wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, cattle, sheep, rice, tobacco, and milk—will be directly helped. If a farmer happens to be producing principally poultry and eggs, or grains like hay, barley, rye, and buckwheat, or any of the scores of vegetables and fruits, he will have to pay a bonus to the producers of the nine chosen commodities. Most of the defenses offered for the bill will not bear examination. It begins with the amazing assumption that there was something sacrosanct and "right" about the price relationships that happened to exist from 1909 to 1914. To maintain such relationships it might be necessary to pay certain bonuses in perpetuity, ignoring the most fundamental changes in supply and demand and in relative costs of production. It is contended that the bill will restore prosperity by increasing the farmers' purchasing power. Such an argument is almost completely fallacious: exactly as much purchasing power would be taken away from the consumers who paid the proposed farm sales tax as would be gained by those who received it.

THE OBJECTIONS to the administrative features of the farm bill are hardly less serious than the objections to its principles. It places unprecedented peace-time powers in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture. Again and again it leaves fundamental decisions to his personal "discretion." It is well to remember that he will be subjected to enormous pressure from all the beneficiaries of the proposed bonuses, against comparatively little specific pressure in the other direction from the general public that is being asked to foot the bill. From this standpoint the measure threatens to repeat the history of payments to war veterans. The administrative expense, with all the national, State, and local committees that it would be necessary to establish, would be enormous; it would greatly reduce the ultimate amount received by the farmer, would put thousands of men on the federal pay roll, and would tend to create a gigantic bureaucracy interested in its own perpetuation. It is extremely dubious that crop acreage would be reduced in the way expected. It is almost certain that under its provisions nearly every farmer in the country would try to lease to the government his swamp land and wood lot. President Roosevelt's promise—that if the legislation does not produce the hoped-for results he will be the first to acknowledge it—

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must be received with skepticism. This sounds suspiciously like President Hoover's promise to revise the Hawley-Smoot tariff rates downward should they prove excessive. This sort of promise to revise always accompanies legislation that cannot be justified on its face. The new farm bill, in brief, marks a return on an unparalleled scale to the subsidy methods that broke down when they were attempted under the Farm Board and under the old loan policy of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. If the President wishes to do something quickly for the farmer, he should begin negotiations for lower tariffs that will open foreign markets to his surplus products.

ON THE SURFACE, the nation appears to have recovered from the banking panic with amazing rapidity. The banks that have reopened have reported a net increase of deposits over withdrawals. The position of the Federal Reserve system is remarkably improved. The combined statement as of March 15 showed a gain in gold holdings, largely as a result of the threatened penalties to hoarders, of $327,000,000 over the week before, and of $113,000,000 even over the corresponding week a year ago. The ratio of reserves to combined note and deposit liabilities jumped in the same week from 45.6 to 49.1 per cent. Federal Reserve note circulation increased very little, and the new emergency currency printed so rapidly was practically not used at all. This does not mean that it was not needed, but merely that the public, once assured that it could obtain all the hand-to-hand currency it wanted, ceased through that very fact to want it. This surface improvement in the situation, however, merely obscures the most serious problems. Depositors everywhere, in the thousands of banks that have not yet reopened or have been opened only under conservators, are suffering heavy losses. They are finding that their supposed resources were partly illusory. This wiping out of imaginary purchasing power can hardly help business. Industrial activity during the crisis fell to the lowest levels of the entire period of depression. And in Congress the whole question is being treated as if it were solved, while interest centers in beer. Nothing, apparently, is going to be done about the abolition of the State banks and the bringing of our banking system under single, unified federal control, the first step to any thoroughgoing reform.

THE ROUT of the bankers continues. Bernard K. Marcus and Saul Singer, officials of the criminally mismanaged Bank of United States, have been ordered to prison. Joseph W. Harriman, head of the Harriman National Bank and Trust Company, of New York, has been arrested on a charge of misusing depositors' funds. The federal inquiry into the activities of Charles E. Mitchell, former chairman of the National City Bank, is to be pressed to the utmost. All the higher officers of the two largest Detroit banks, whose difficulties brought on the Michigan banking holiday, have been summarily discharged by agents of the Comptroller of the Currency, after looking at the books of the banks. A Newark, New Jersey, banker and his son have been indicted on charges of forgery and grand larceny. A Washington, D. C., banker killed himself when his bank was refused a license to reopen. As individuals the bankers are falling rapidly. They have been thoroughly and justifiably discredited. But as a class they remain as powerful and influential as ever. In his inaugural speech President Roosevelt demanded that the money changers be driven out of the temple. But these very money changers, the big New York bankers, flocked from the temple to the White House to have a hand in framing the emergency banking act. And ever since, their agents have sat in the Treasury Department "helping" the new Administration to formulate its financial policies. "The new deal has started," said a Republican Senator who supported Mr. Roosevelt during the campaign, "but the same old people are shuffling the cards."

S. W. STRAUS AND COMPANY, which advertised "forty-five years without loss to an investor" until the authorities forbade the continued publication of the falsehood, recently went into a long-overdue receivership. Not only have millions of dollars of the real-estate mortgage bonds which that company sold become long since worthless, but those "securities" had so little substantial value behind them that against $380,000,000 worth unloaded on the public, only $29,000 of liquid assets remain. That in part was the basis for the resignation as receivers of former United States Senator William M. Calder and Robert Moses, chairman of the New York State Council of Parks. They reported to Supreme Court Justice Lockwood that "S. W. Straus and Company is simply a shell." They further recalled that they had been advised that S. W. Straus and Company would go out of business, but that instead it had merely moved downtown and gone into business under a slightly different name. Meanwhile, the divested investing public had received the impression that this concern guaranteed and stood back of their numerous bond issues. This, the receivers pointed out, was not only not the case, but the bond holders "have no adequate disinterested representation except at a very considerable cost to themselves." Mr. Calder and Mr. Moses are quite right in pointing to the inadequacy of the Martin act and of existing federal and State legislation to protect the public and prevent repetition of the practices that caused such devastating losses. Even after complete default, the mulcting of investors through so-called protective committees, the successful persuasion to "throw good money after bad," often continues. Apparently even a shell can continue to work a shell game.

HOUSE BILL NO. 3341 "to provide revenue by the taxation of certain non-intoxicating liquor and for other purposes" has become law. Beer is now one of the Treasury's liquid assets—designed to balance the budget without unbalancing the consumer. The new-deal beer can scarcely be regarded as a noble beverage. Solemnly classed as non-intoxicating by Congress, it is nevertheless to be excluded from dry States. The Senate inclined to the view that the 3.2 per cent alcoholic content which was voted by the House was unconstitutional by fifteen-hundredths of 1 per cent but finally accepted the higher percentage. The Supreme Court will not, let us hope, interpose its own prohibition, which, needless to say, it will be asked by the drys to do. Another unsettled and really important problem now is to secure non-political control. What New York State does will influence the character of much of the new legislation throughout the country and determine whether new rackets will replace the old. Governor Lehman must be uncompromising in preventing Tammany from tapping the barrel.

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A DESIRE FOR PEACE and preparations for war seem to go hand in hand in Washington. President Roosevelt, it is reported, will soon ask Congress for virtually unlimited authority to declare embargoes on munitions shipments to belligerent countries. There is every indication, despite the fate which a somewhat similar request from Herbert Hoover met in Congress, that Mr. Roosevelt will be granted the authority he seeks. The President also appears anxious to relieve the political tension in Europe. To this end he is sending Norman Davis to Europe to confer with the heads of the leading governments there, while he himself has been discussing the situation with the British, French, and German ambassadors in Washington. That is being done, doubtless with genuine sincerity, in the name of peace. On the other hand, however, President Roosevelt has never repudiated his frequently repeated statement that he stands for an "adequate" navy. Nor has he done anything to check his subordinates in the Cabinet or the leaders of his party in Congress who are insisting upon the adoption of a naval-construction program which will cost the taxpayers anywhere from $500,000,000 to $1,000,000,000. If these people do not accurately represent the President's views, why does he not denounce them? It is an open secret among Congressmen that men like Secretary Swanson and Congressman Vinson would not be agitating for a big navy were they not certain of support from the White House, and it is generally believed in Washington that Mr. Roosevelt will himself before long call for a naval-construction program on the ground that that will help to meet the unemployment problem! Europe is not alone in the business of talking about peace while preparing for war.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE is obviously imperative, and it is gratifying that New York State, with the encouragement of Governor Lehman, is moving in this direction. Several bills under consideration at Albany reveal the various attitudes toward this form of social legislation—the bill of the American Association for Labor Legislation, introduced by Senator Mastick; the bill of the American Federation of Labor, supported by Senator Byrne; the measure presented by Senator Feld, based largely on the Wisconsin Unemployment Insurance Act; and the proposal, based on researches of the Ohio Unemployment Commission, drafted by the legislative committee of the United Neighborhood Houses and introduced by Senator Albert D. Wald. This last bill, which at this time seems on the whole the most practical and liberal of the several proposals, calls for contributions from employers of 2 per cent of their pay roll until July 1, 1937. Employees are asked for a contribution of 1 per cent of their wages. The resulting fund is to be administered by the State at its expense, a participation which may be calculated as equal to 0.4 per cent of the total. The Wald measure provides a period of three weeks after loss of employment for investigation of the case and for the discharged employee to register and seek a new job. After that interval, if he has been employed for twenty-six weeks, he receives for sixteen weeks 50 per cent of his salary, but not more than $12.50 a week if he is without dependents, to which is added 10 per cent for a dependent wife or husband, and 5 per cent for each dependent child or parent. These payments are limited to 75 per cent of the weekly wage and to not more than $17.50 per week. After July 1, 1937, the employer's contribution may be raised to as high as 3½ per cent or lowered to 1 per cent, according to his record of labor turnover. If he has kept his employees, he benefits by a lower rate. If his discharges have been numerous, he must contribute a higher percentage. Benefits cease at the end of sixteen weeks. This limited period of compensation is all that the proposed employer, employee, and State contributions will permit.

WHILE CONTRIBUTION by employees will be attacked by the more radical, *The Nation* believes that the theory of employee-sharing is socially expedient, though the proportion provided in this measure is disputable. It would seem desirable, in view of the extent of unemployment, to regard it as a larger and more enduring social phenomenon and therefore to increase the State's share of the burden. The measure at best is but a palliative which will neither relieve already existing unemployment nor take care of the permanently unemployed of the future. It ought not to be regarded as other than an integration in our statutes of unemployment insurance. As such, it is a notable step forward. But only as such is it worthy of adoption.

THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION for India, as one delegate to the third Round Table Conference has pointed out, is more concerned with safeguards than with self-government. Certainly the published summaries indicate that Great Britain has reserved to itself powers over finance, foreign affairs, defense, and internal political affairs even wider than were contemplated at the first Round Table Conference. It remains to be seen whether the constitution can be worked, even if it is enacted into law—the safeguards, high as they are, are still not high enough for the Tory diehards. Gandhi and the main body of the Congress Party will refuse to cooperate, and the Congress, despite the government's long and fierce attempt to suppress it, is still the most important political group in India. The Moderates are half-hearted in their support of the new constitution. There remains the not too reliable support of conservative and reactionary minorities such as the Indian princes, the landlords, and the Moslem Old Guard—a sorry basis on which to build a self-governing state. The prospect for amicable British-Indian relations is dark. It will remain so until Great Britain offers a constitution that self-respecting Indians can accept. We hope the offer will not come too late.

BEER, unlike prosperity, is just around the corner and enterprising beverage companies have already begun to advertise in some of the magazines. The advertisements, however, are not calculated to appeal to those who romanticize beer as the poor man's drink. The honest workman carrying his bucket of suds is nowhere depicted; instead, the illustrations show elegant ladies in evening gowns sipping what might just as well be Veuve Clicquot, Goût Américain, out of delicate tapering goblets. Indeed, it is reported that one prominent brewer refused a "tie-up" with the movie "What, No Beer?" on the ground that that opus laid too much stress on sawdust, free lunches, swinging doors, and such plebeian accessories. Perhaps these brewers know their business, but we wonder. They are certainly going to alienate such robustious experts as our friend Mr. Mencken. He wants no elegance with his beer.

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Terrorism Rules Germany

ADOLPH HITLER has been in complete control of the Reich only since March 5, but in this short time he has created a new Germany—a Germany in which freedom and democracy dare not even ask to live. His uniformed followers terrorize the few citizens who have the courage to protest against persecution and repression and thousands of others whose only fault is that they belong to a race or follow a calling which is displeasing to the dictator and his party. The police stand by, indifferent or powerless, while members of the Hitler storm-battalions vent their rage against Jews or Communists or liberals. Several Americans have been brutally assaulted, among them Edward Dahlberg, who has been a contributor to *The Nation* and is now in Germany as an observer and journalist. Hitler's own moderate radio appeal to his followers to mingle discretion with their zeal has only resulted in less open methods; the outrages go on. Jews are subject not only to physical violence; many thousands face a more cruel fate through loss of their right to follow certain trades and professions. A strong movement is on foot to bar Jewish lawyers from the courts; Jewish professors are driven from their classrooms; Jewish actors are prevented from appearing; famous Jewish conductors are refused a hearing. Before this terror large numbers of Germans are fleeing across the borders into Austria, Poland, and Switzerland, but only those of independent means and moderate views are sure of escape. Communists are turned back and Jews find no welcome in the countries to the east. Lion Feuchtwanger is living in Switzerland. His home in Berlin was invaded by Nazi terrorists and the manuscript of his latest book—a novel about Hitler—destroyed. Albert Einstein will take refuge in Switzerland until his return to the United States in the fall, nor does he "intend to put foot on German soil as long as conditions in Germany are as at present." Bruno Walter has gone to live in Austria. Even that veteran Socialist statesman, Otto Braun, so long the head of the Prussian state, is now a refugee in the Alps.

The Nazis are not required to charge their victims with specific offenses. Take the case of Otto Lehmann-Russbüldt. His sole crime was that he had been president of the League for Human Rights and had made pacifist speeches in behalf of his organization. His fate the Vienna *Montag-Zeitung* reports thus:

> The old man was kept in chains for days. When he was brought before the Berlin police prefect he was told to stand at attention. When he did not comply promptly with this military order he was taken into a dark corridor and beaten by a crowd and again chained.

As to Carl von Ossietzky, editor of *Die Weltbühne,* a weekly which in many respects represented *The Nation's* point of view, the Vienna *Morgen* vouches for the report that his teeth were knocked out with a revolver butt. It reports him as "completely shattered." Dr. Apfel, a Jewish lawyer, distinguished because his services have always been available for the victims of social and political tyranny, was so tortured that he attempted to commit suicide. According to the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

> Nazi storm-troopers broke into the house of a Socialist member of the Reichstag, Sollmann, in Saarbrücken, beat him unconscious, revived him by burning his feet with a torch, spat in his face, and threw powdered mustard in his eyes. . . . They again beat him until he became unconscious. They dragged him to a Nazi cafe where they revived him only to beat him again. Finally the Nazis threw him into a coal cellar.

Even the distinguished German General, Von Schönaich, a successful commander in the World War and a contributor to *The Nation,* has been thrown into prison merely because he had demanded disarmament and peace. The residence of Prince Hubertus von Löwenstein, a member of the oldest German aristocracy, was five times raided by Nazis who stole his money, broke the furniture, tore up his books, helped themselves to what they liked, and departed; the Prince has been a member of the Social Democratic organization, the Reichsbanner. On the other hand, Hitler has released from prison, where they were under life sentence, the five Nazi soldiers who last summer took an unresisting Communist from his bed in Beuthen, Silesia, and literally stamped him to death with the heels of their boots.

These are a very few of the incidents in the Nazis' nation-wide pogrom. Last summer when Hindenburg first parleyed with Hitler with a view to his entering the government, Hitler demanded for his shock troops three days of immunity from the law, the courts, the police, and the army. Hindenburg indignantly refused. Today the pogrom is on—with Hindenburg either ignorant of what is happening or conniving at the suppression of the minority press and at the persecution of men with whom he has shared the government of Germany, and especially Prussia, for the last eight years.

The National-Socialist dictatorship has already forfeited the respect of decent-minded men and women everywhere. In England the press is solidly anti-Hitler, including the courageous journals which, ever since the war, have demanded equality and justice for Germany and unceasingly denounced the Treaty of Versailles. Those who have believed that the Reich would eventually solve its problems and work out a progressive government today stand aghast. Let no one be misled by the fact that most of the dispatches reporting the atrocities and repressions come from outside Germany. They are thoroughly confirmed. Correspondents in Germany are able only to hint at the true state of affairs, although a few have written in terms so plain that they cannot hope to go unmuzzled for long. The Hitler Government has put rigid limits on the activities of German correspondents in the United States; they may not even report back to Germany unfavorable comments from the American press. Evidently the Nazis hope to insulate themselves within the boundaries of their own narrow and barbarous credo.

And perhaps for a time they may succeed. By terror on the one hand and the creation of popular illusions on the other, they may hold power for months or even years. With the Communist deputies interned in concentration camps and the rest of the opposition silenced, Hitler has ordered the Reichstag to enact into law the terms of his dictatorship. He

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will no longer need to consult even a subservient parliament. Now he must face the task of governing. The Nazis rode into office on a wave of reckless despair. They promised all things to all needy men, and their words were believed by millions of unemployed and underpaid Germans. It is easy to make promises, to create hopes, to utter magnificent threats; but to rebuild a nation shattered by a terrible war and an even more terrible peace is a task that requires other qualities than those of the bully and the demagogue. Hitler must stand and deliver or he will eventually fall. "Sic semper tyrannis."

War Clouds Over Europe

NOT since 1914 have European statesmen and publicists been so alarmed by the prospect of war. Lloyd George expressed this growing apprehension in precise terms a few days ago when he said: "The nations are marching toward the battlefields with the dove of peace embroidered on their banners. Ever since the Kellogg Pact was signed, armaments have been increasing. The underground rumble of cannon is getting louder. It is useless to pretend. The situation is grave." And so it is. Nothing, not even the MacDonald disarmament plan, can disguise this fact. That plan itself is the work of a desperate man, the product of a terrible and growing fear. Almost overnight international crises have arisen in half a dozen places on the European Continent. Some of the nervous tension may be due to the terrific strain of the economic situation, but the depression itself is in a certain sense a continuation of the war which was supposed to have ended in 1918.

From the north of Europe to the south controversies have arisen and suspicious maneuvers have been taking place. Sweden and Germany have been exchanging unpleasant compliments, the latest being a political speech by Premier Hansson of Sweden disparaging the Hitler regime. The Soviet Union has been building military highways and making other preparations of a military nature in the vicinity of the Finnish frontier. Moscow has also got into another row with London over the arrest of several British engineers in Russia. On the southern shore of the Baltic the Poles have been unusually active. Disturbed by developments in Germany, and fearful of a possible Nazi *Putsch* in Danzig, they have reinforced the military guard at the Westerplatte munitions depot, which overlooks Danzig harbor, and have brought additional troops into the Corridor. While the League of Nations has persuaded Warsaw to reduce the size of the Westerplatte guard as soon as that can practically be done, the Polish-German crisis remains acute.

The Austrian situation grows daily more ominous. To the probability of a fascist or royalist coup, with its promise of an Austro-German union—which France is determined to oppose at all costs—has been added a threat of civil war. The Austrian Socialists, who control Vienna, are as much set against the present Dollfuss dictatorship as they would be against a fascist regime. Hungarian irredentism has taken on new life. It has been openly encouraged by the fascist Premier, Julius Gömbös, and stimulated by the fact, recently revealed, that despite the vigilance of the Little Entente and France fairly large quantities of arms have actually been smuggled into Hungary from Italy. Relations between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria have become critical. Early in March the Sofia government permitted a Macedonian irredentist congress to be held in Bulgaria. Several Jugoslav revolutionaries addressed the meeting, and the local military commander told the congress that the whole Bulgarian army sympathized with the movement. Despite the urgent demands of Belgrade, Sofia has refused to make amends. Jugoslavia now threatens to "take independent action on Bulgarian territory" to suppress Macedonian raids. Nor have relations between Italy and Jugoslavia improved in the slightest degree, the only change being found in the attitude of the Italian press, led by the more or less official *Giornale d'Italia,* which lately launched a bitter, vituperative attack upon French policy in southern and southeastern Europe. To guard against Hitlerism, an Austrian explosion, Hungarian irredentism, a possible revolution in Jugoslavia, the infiltration of German and Italian propaganda in Rumania, and Italian machinations throughout the Balkans, the Little Entente has formed what virtually constitutes a new continental Power. While the Little Entente countries may find more security for themselves in the treaty they recently signed at Geneva, their action has added to the suspicion and confusion now prevailing everywhere in Europe.

Most of these critical developments can be traced to the operation of French policy in Europe and even more to the victory of Hitler in Germany. Just as Prussian militarism frightened Europe in the years prior to 1914, Hitlerism has now become the great menace. Obviously, a disarmed Germany is not so dangerous to world peace as was the thoroughly militarized Germany of two decades ago. Yet France and England fear the worst, and with them lies the answer to the question whether Europe shall go to war in the near future. These two countries are anxious now to "save" the disarmament conference. They realize that final failure at Geneva will be the signal for a new and calamitous armaments race but both countries lack the courage necessary to accomplish any important results. The French still insist that they must have security first and upon their own terms. This the British are unwilling to concede. They propose that land armaments on the Continent shall be equalized by doubling the size of the German army. This is sheer madness. Can we have peace by arming still more men? Can the suspicion and fear of France, which is the real source of danger in Europe today, be laid by increasing the military strength of the country it fears?

Mussolini now proposes that Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany seek a common understanding on "larger political questions" and unite in a "no-force declaration" to insure "a long period of peace" for Europe. The larger political questions, of course, relate to revision of the peace treaties. Revision of the right sort must undoubtedly precede any lasting European peace, but it is too much to hope that Mussolini's purpose is wholly disinterested. France immediately saw in it a plan to negate the recent accord of the Little Entente, to render innocuous France's present alliances with the Little Entente and Poland, in a word, to reduce French dominance in Europe. It is reported that MacDonald approves the plan; Germany would no doubt be amenable; but it is difficult to see how France could be brought to accept the proposal, even if it were sponsored by a person less suspect in her eyes than Mussolini.

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The Defeat of the Patrioteers

IN the nation-wide chorus for the Administration's economy bill, its most noteworthy aspect has been almost universally slighted. It is not the estimated annual saving of half a billion dollars, necessary as that may be to balance the budget. It is not the removal from the pension rolls of veterans suffering from non-service-connected injuries, and the termination thereby of one of the most far-reaching of the numerous "rackets" with which the United States has been afflicted. More important is the repudiation and defeat of an organized minority whose activities were in every way injurious to the larger well-being of our nation. That a coterie of professional patriots, not unjustly dubbed "pay-triots," under the aegis of the American Legion have suffered a check in their increasingly rapacious raids upon the Treasury is gratifying. But in that activity they were not only following—though on a larger scale—the historical precedent of pension raids, which in this country have succeeded every war, but were emulating the prevailing custom of powerful groups of obtaining special advantages from the government. Far more sinister was the potential menace to our civil liberties, which in country after country have been destroyed by irresponsible patrioteering groups. In our land the sporadic attempts to suppress speakers of "radical" or pacifist tendencies, often accompanied by violence, the effort to militarize education, to regiment our thinking, and to bulldoze public authorities into taking the path of a narrow, chauvinistic nationalism may be laid largely at the door of this powerful, highly organized Legion minority. The danger of fascism in America, of an obscurantism not unlike that of the brown-shirted Nazis, derives precisely from the super-government of those elements which were defeated when Congress passed the economy bill.

This type of potential dictatorship, which for ten years had shown its effectiveness in organization and in the intimidation of legislative officials till its exactions had neared the staggering total of a billion dollars annually, seems to us far more perilous than that alleged to inhere in the unusual powers granted the President. Careful study of the bill and the arguments advanced for and against it leads to the conclusion that the charge of "dictatorship" has little substance. The bill was a needed revision of our unconscionably swollen pension and veterans' legislation. It establishes anew on a more rational and equitable basis the classes of veterans and dependents entitled to receive benefits, fixes maximum and minimum rates of compensation, and authorizes the President to determine how these shall be awarded. While there are to be reductions in the fixed pensions consonant with the reduced cost of living, the essential reform—and financial saving—is to be found in the elimination of the disability payments for illnesses supposedly of war origin but actually arising years after the conflict, often in the cases of men who never smelt powder or suffered exposure to hardship. Undoubtedly there are a certain number of tubercular and neuro-psychiatric cases which are connected with war service but did not manifest themselves until some years after. It should be possible to distinguish these. But they have been obscured by the vast number of spurious claims. On January 1 the non-service-connected disability compensations totaled 438,884. Their wide discrepancy in different States indicates the varying attitudes adopted by the officials of the different State veterans' bureaus. Thus, of Mississippi's 62,345 men in active service in the World War, 18,238 are drawing disability compensations not connected with war service. By contrast, New York, which sent 489,608 men into the service, actually has a smaller number —16,040—who are drawing such benefits, a ratio of approximately ten to one.

To assert that giving to the President the power to prescribe the details of this new legislation and to administer it is bestowing upon him "dictatorial" powers and imperiling the traditional independence of our three branches of government seems somewhat far-fetched. The Senate debated the measure at length. Numerous amendments were presented. Those which aimed to emasculate the measure and in effect to nullify its essential benefits were defeated. But not fewer than forty-two other amendments, certain of which restored some of the objectionable graft in permitting free hospitalization to veterans for illness or injury in no wise connected with war, were accepted. While party organization held the large Democratic majority firm, in the Senate, where the discussion was ample and unrestricted, 66 votes were recorded in favor and 17 against—and in both houses a decided majority of both parties voted yea.

The alternative method—to meet the objection of undue assumption of legislative powers by the executive—would have been for President Roosevelt to send a message asking Congress to work out specific legislation instead of granting him power as it did to fix and administer the detail of a more general bill. If there is a vital difference in principle here, we fail to grasp it. Congress chose to delegate, for this one measure, a function which is essentially administrative. That the resulting legislation will come far closer to producing the contemplated results is obvious. What Congress would have done under the usual procedure is amply indicated by the amendments proposed.

In recording approval of the legislation, we wish to emphasize that we do not share the prevailing view that "balancing the budget" is the *summum desideratum* of the hour. The value of the economy bill—apart from the defeat of essentially predatory forces—lies in its elimination of totally unmerited subsidies for thousands who may not even need them, and for whose support the entire people pays. The wisdom of cutting deserved pensions and of reducing indiscriminately the wages and salaries of government employees, few of whom have ever been overpaid, may be doubted. Indeed, the economy bill, except as it represents a spectacular victory for leadership and effective action, for which the nation has clamored, can be judged finally only as part of a large program to redistribute income and increase the purchasing power of the American people. The bill, of course, makes no direct contribution to that end, but serves it indirectly by strengthening the government's credit and enabling the Treasury to borrow henceforth without paying the excessive rate of 4¼ per cent recently demanded.

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Chain Stores and the Judges

AGAIN the Supreme Court in a six to three decision has furnished ground for the quip concerning "judge-made law" in the recent report of President Hoover's Committee on Social Trends. On the one hand, we have the majority of the court intervening to nullify an important policy made into law by a sovereign State. On the other, we have two dissenting opinions, one by Justice Brandeis, another by Justice Cardozo with Justice Stone concurring. Judge Brandeis, as usual, exposes in lucid and vigorous terms the bias underlying the decision and expresses his conviction of the right of a people to use taxation as an instrument of social reform. The State was Florida, and the public policy involved was embodied in a novel form of discriminatory chain-store tax legislation.

In May, 1931, the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, held that nothing in the Fourteenth Amendment barred the State of Indiana from adopting a measure of taxation for chain stores different from and higher than that applied to stores owned and operated as individual units. Justice Roberts, speaking for the majority in that case, said that it was not the function of the court to consider the propriety or justness of the tax or to criticize the public policy behind it, but rather to allow the discrimination "if any state of facts reasonably can be conceived to sustain it." Last week the same judge wrote the opinion of a differently constituted majority in a different mood. The rejected Florida tax law differed from the approved Indiana tax law only in that it imposed heavier fees per store upon chains whose units were located in several counties than it did upon chains all of whose units were located in a single county; the tax was graduated not only, as in Indiana, according to the number of stores in the chain, but also to the spread of business beyond the county line. The purpose behind this legislative device was explained in the dissenting opinion of Justice Cardozo. Generally speaking, chains that are confined to local areas are smaller than chains that cover large sections; they provide less concentration of control and capital and offer fewer of the advantages that are supposed to be found in chain-store organizations. It is therefore reasonable, he held, to maintain that sectional or national chains may be taxed at a different rate from local chains. "Law-makers," the Justice said, "are not required to legislate with an eye to exceptional conditions. Their search is for probabilities and tendencies of general validity, and these being ascertained, they may frame their rule accordingly." The majority, however, were able to imagine a hypothetical situation in which a local chain would have more stores and more power than a chain that extended beyond a single county, and on the basis of this pure speculation concluded that the discriminatory tax had "no foundation in reason or in any fact of business experience." Judge Cardozo replied:

> The question for them [the Legislature] and so for us, is not how a business might be expected to develop if its forms and lines of growth were to be predicted in the abstract without reference to experience. The question is how it does develop in normal or average conditions, and the answer to that question is to be found in life and history.

Justice Brandeis, in his opinion, raised the larger question, What is behind discriminatory chain-store tax legislation? In his view it is popular realization that the corporation is a device for assembling and controlling aggregations of capital which may prove politically and economically omnipotent but are socially irresponsible; that concentration of wealth and economic power are "thwarting American ideals; . . . making impossible equality of opportunity; . . . converting independent tradesmen into clerks; . . . sapping the resources, the vigor, and the hope of the smaller cities and towns." He added:

> There is a widespread belief that the existing unemployment is the result, in large part, of the gross inequality in the distribution of wealth and income which giant corporations have fostered; that by the control which the few have exerted through giant corporations, individual initiative and effort are being paralyzed, creative power impaired, and human happiness lessened; that the true prosperity of our past came not from big business, but through the courage, the energy, and the resourcefulness of small men . . .

With the technical distinctions which resulted in a different decision in the Florida case from that in the Indiana case, the layman may properly be impatient. And he will be apt to applaud Justice Brandeis's contention that "the State's power to apply discriminatory taxation as a means of preventing domination of intrastate commerce by capitalistic corporations . . . flows from the broader right of Americans to preserve, and to establish from time to time, such institutions, social and economic, as seem to them desirable; and, likewise, to end those which they deem undesirable." But the social thesis that underlies his dissent is certainly debatable. Is the solution of our existing economic difficulties to be arrived at through the sacrifice of such benefits as large-scale industrial organization can apparently supply? Twenty years ago Mr. Brandeis denounced "the curse of bigness," a doctrine popular with the trust-busters of that era. But does not a better remedy lie in the application of greater social control to prevent discriminatory practices against the producer of foodstuffs, the exploitation of employees, the bludgeoning of competitors—and, above all, in the enactment of evasion-proof taxation on excess profits? From a legal standpoint Mr. Brandeis's dissent appears admirable. But as an economic doctrine the Florida legislation which he upholds seems to us more dubious.

That, however, is secondary. What is significant is the repeated demonstration, of which this case (Louis K. Liggett et al. *vs.* Lee) affords one more bit of evidence, that the social attitude of judges profoundly affects the degree of social change which the people of the United States may establish by law. Opinions will differ as to the wisdom of Florida in enacting this legislation. But of its right to do so, there should be no question. "It is," says Justice Brandeis, "obviously, a matter with which this court has no concern." But he was mistaken. The court concerned itself to the very material extent of telling the State of Florida that it could not do it!

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Issues and Men

The New Diplomatic Appointments

THE righteous acclaim given to Franklin Roosevelt for the vigor and speed of his attacks on the problems that have been menacing the welfare if not the very existence of the Republic should not becloud the fact that he has made a series of very poor diplomatic appointments, worthy neither of him as President, nor of Franklin Roosevelt the man. This is the more surprising because, as a man of means, he has traveled a great deal in the course of his life. Indeed, as a boy he spent summer after summer abroad. He must know full well, therefore, the importance of picking diplomats who will not only uphold the prestige of the United States but advance it. He had before him not only many of the appointments that have been made since the regime of Mr. Wilson, but the horrible example of the appointments made by the last Democratic President himself. When the great catastrophe of 1914 occurred, Mr. Wilson had in the key positions in Europe men whom he rapidly came to dislike and distrust. With one of them, Walter Page, he was soon not on speaking terms. Gerard in Berlin, Penfield in Vienna, and Sharp in Paris—in all three of these he lost faith. They had been appointed, it may be said, by William J. Bryan, and all of them had made handsome contributions to the Wilson campaign fund, the figures usually being given as $13,000 for Jimmie Gerard, and $50,000 for Penfield. Page did not contribute as he never had money.

Now we have Franklin D. Roosevelt doing the same thing. The chief diplomatic offices have been given to large contributors to the campaign fund, or to newspaper supporters. Thus, London goes to Robert W. Bingham of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* a man whose great wealth is in part inherited from his second wife, who had been a Mrs. Flagler. Josephus Daniels is slated for Mexico. The new Ambassador to Spain is Claude Bowers, the chief editorial writer of the New York *Evening Journal,* author of an excellent book on Jefferson and Hamilton, and a less valuable book entitled "The Tragic Era—The Revolution After Lincoln." Now as a journalist I have long been constitutionally opposed to the rewarding of journalistic support of a candidate by any office whatsoever. Can a newspaper whose proprietor is an ambassador attack the man who sent him abroad? Is there any easier or more dangerous way of influencing the press than this? Yet it is done constantly and on a larger scale than the uninitiated realize. In the case of Mr. Bowers, who is merely an employee of Mr. Hearst, it may be argued that this objection does not hold. None the less I maintain that writing two good books and interesting and often valuable editorials, and being the keynoter at the Democratic National Convention in 1928, do not fit a man necessarily for the diplomatic service, though I recognize fully Mr. Bowers's ability and intelligence.

Mr. Bingham's contribution to the campaign fund was only $5,000; Jesse Straus's contribution was $10,000, just double what his brother Percy gave. He donated a great deal to the prenomination campaign. Both of them were pikers compared with the new Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Woodin, whose contribution of $40,000 was the largest reported by the Democratic National Committee on January 4. It is reliably stated that Jesse Straus was actually offered the Secretaryship of Commerce, but that the offer had to be withdrawn because of the threat that a certain association in New York City intended to file a protest against the business methods of R. H. Macy and Company. Hence Mr. Straus was switched to Paris, the highest diplomatic position yet held by a Jew. That he is able, there can be no doubt. Under his management and that of his brother, Macy's has reached great heights of prosperity. Mr. Straus, moreover, is a popular and influential Overseer of Harvard University. But does this record make him a diplomat and the right man for the place, which is of very great importance because of the strained relations between France and the United States? It does not. One thing Mr. Straus plainly lacks, and that is a sense of humor. If that were not the case he could certainly not have put into the newspapers the sob-story advertisement in large type which bore his name on March 6. It began: "On Saturday I saw Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated as thirty-second President of the United States. I heard his inaugural address." It then furnished a "code" for every patriotic citizen to adopt which read as follows:

> I trust my government. I trust our banks. I do not expect the impossible. I shall do nothing hysterical. I shall act as nearly as I can to normal [*sic*]. If it is normal to carry little cash in my pocket when there is plenty to go round, I shall carry little now. There never was a time when everyone on earth could possess all his cash in his pockets, his stockings, his safe-deposit box, or anywhere else.

All of which must have afforded intense pleasure to the 14,000,000 unemployed, most of whom are carrying their total possessions around in pockets with holes in them.

As for Mr. Bingham, he is a pleasant-mannered man, an agreeable companion, I am told. But he is merely a rich man and a newspaper owner. And that hardly makes him a fit successor to the long line of distinguished men who have been our ambassadors to London—John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, James Russell Lowell, John Lothrop Motley, to name only a few. As for Josephus Daniels, he is the owner and editor of the Raleigh, North Carolina, *Observer.* Beyond that I am afraid that I have to agree with the New York *Evening Post* that he is an "old and tired" man. I must add, too, that he is capable of talking complete nonsense, as he did recently at the grave of Woodrow Wilson. It is a pity that James M. Cox has declined the Berlin post. He owns the Dayton, Ohio, *Daily News,* the Springfield *Press-Republic* and *Sun,* and the Miami, Florida, *Metropolis.* That makes him a diplomat four times over. Report has it that Clark Howell of the Atlanta *Constitution* is to be ambassador to Italy. Step up, journalists, and get yours!

Oswald Garrison Villard

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Hitler Takes Power

By JOHN ELLIOTT

Berlin, March 8

ADOLF HITLER on March 5 won the greatest parliamentary victory in German political history. An amazingly brilliant propaganda campaign and a well-nigh complete repression of the two principal opposition parties, the Socialist and the Communist, in part explain Hitler's triumph, but only in part. For the election, if not fair, was at least free. The Nazi leader's victory was the result of the greatest nationalist uprising in Germany since General Yorck called the German nation to arms against Napoleon in the early winter of 1813. If the elections had been held under a system like England's instead of the method of proportional representation that permits minority opinion to be registered, Hitler would have had an even more overwhelming majority than Ramsay MacDonald in Great Britain after the elections of the autumn of 1931. However vehemently liberals throughout the world may detest Hitler's political tenets and his philosophy, they are bound to recognize that he has the highest credentials any statesman can have —the mandate of his people.

The most surprising part of the Nazi success was the way in which the party made a "perceptible breach into the South German and the Marxian fronts," as one of their spokesmen put it. While the Social Democrats held their own, the Communists lost more than a million votes compared with their poll in the November elections. As these Communist votes did not go to the Socialists, and as the unprecedentedly heavy poll precludes the thought of many abstentions, the conclusion seems inevitable that many members of this party have now changed their color from red to brown.

Equally astonishing were the enormous gains made by the Hitlerites in Bavaria and other parts of South Germany. Although "the leader" himself is an Austrian and his party was founded and still has its headquarters in Munich, Catholic Bavaria with its jealousy of Prussia and its democratic instincts has always remained rather cool to Hitlerism, while Protestant North Germany has been shouting itself hoarse for the Hakenkreuz movement. But on March 5 the brown landslide was as pronounced south of the Main River as north of it, and the Nazis polled 700,000 votes more than the Bavarian Peoples' Party, the clerical party which from the revolution up to the present has been the largest political organization in Bavaria.

Next to Hitler himself, whose oratorical ability and organizing talent have made of a Munich beer-cellar group the largest political force in German history, the two principal individual factors in accounting for the party's victory were Dr. Joseph Goebbels and Captain Hermann Göring—the first by his brilliant propaganda work and the second by his ruthless use of the Prussian police force.

Goebbels is the foremost journalist in the Nazi movement. As editor of the party daily in Berlin, *Der Angriff,* he writes slashing fiery articles of a type that passed out of vogue in American journalism with Mr. Jefferson Brick. Since the radio had been forbidden to the Nazis, Goebbels never had an opportunity of displaying to the full his admirable talents as a publicity chief until this election. But when his chance came, diminutive, swarthy Dr. Goebbels showed the Republicans something about the art of propaganda that they had never learned in their days of power. Every day for a fortnight before the election the radio was reserved exclusively, as regards political speaking, for Cabinet ministers. Hitler made no less than three nation-wide speeches over the wireless, and each time Goebbels gave a rousing *Stimmungsbild,* or color picture of the scenes taking place in the hall where his chief was speaking.

Goebbels's masterpiece was his idea of the "Day of the Awakening Nation," a party celebration which was held on the eve of the polling. Bonfires were lighted on the principal mountain tops throughout the Reich, church bells pealed in the advent of better times, and Nazi storm-troopers carrying lighted torches marched in procession to the public squares of the cities and towns to which Hitler's speech was transmitted from Königsberg. It was an admirable bit of stagecraft to have Hitler fly over the Polish Corridor and make his speech from the "burning frontier," and the story lost nothing in the telling of it by Goebbels through the microphone. This publicity genius is now slated to be head of a new office for government propaganda.

No less important was the contribution of Captain Göring, who as Prussian Minister of the Interior has been the driving force behind the government. One of his first acts was to issue a decree to the Prussian police, who fell under his charge, informing them that they were expected to stand in with the "constructive forces of the nation," including storm-troopers and Steel Helmets, but to act ruthlessly against the reds. In a public speech Göring defended this discrimination, asking how anybody could expect him to be "objective" when on the one side stood the forces of national reconstruction and on the other those of national destruction.

But Captain Göring's opportunity came with the burning of the Reichstag building less than a week before the election. The cause of this act of arson will probably always be wrapped in mystery, but it is difficult to conceive of the Communist leaders being so stupid as deliberately to offer the Nazis the pretext they were seeking for suppressing the reds. The arrest of the Dutch Communist, Van der Luebbe, and his alleged confession, gave Göring his chance of putting the blame for the fire on the Communists. Two days later, over a nation-wide radio hook-up, Göring worked up a dreadful Bolshevist scare, telling listeners-in how a Communist plot had been formed to overthrow the government by violence and painting a lurid picture of how the Communists were planning to dynamite railway bridges, poison public drinking places, and demoralize the police by forged commands. Such plots as these, as even a conservative Berlin newspaper was honest enough to point out, could be found in revolutionary literature obtainable at most of the bookshops of the city, but Göring's speech probably served the purpose of making many an honest *Spiessbürger's* hair stand

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on end. This Bolshevist fright, skilfully worked up by Nazi propaganda, probably sent thousands of people who are normally indifferent to politics to the polls on election day to save the threatened Fatherland, just as the notorious Zinoviev letter served a similar party purpose in England almost a decade ago.

After the partial destruction of the Reichstag building, the election propaganda of the Socialist and Communist parties, which was carried on already with difficulty, was entirely suppressed. Publication of Socialist and Communist newspapers was forbidden, their meetings were prohibited, their placards on the billboards pasted over, and their literature confiscated. All the leading Communists were arrested, including nearly every Communist member of the Reichstag and the Prussian Diet. Nazi storm-troopers and Steel Helmets, enrolled as police auxiliaries by Göring—an act generally regarded as the first step toward making them part of the regular armed forces of the state—raided the offices of the Marxists and arrested their functionaries. The only opposition party of consequence free to carry on a campaign in North Germany was the Catholic Center. Even some of their leaders, like Brüning and Stegerwald, were attacked by the brown shirts at first, until Hitler issued an order to his followers telling them to concentrate on the battle against the Marxists.

On election day only the imperial and the swastika flags were to be seen in Berlin. Not a republican black-red-gold banner could be hung from the windows, although according to the constitution this is Germany's national flag. A leading politician of the democratic State Party who tried to display the republican colors was ordered by some Steel Helmets acting as auxiliary police to haul it in again. Even in the workers' quarters the Socialists did not venture to put up their "Iron Front" banner with the three arrows pointing downward, or the Communists their red flag with the hammer and sickle.

The election campaign as carried on by the government parties was of course a masterpiece of intellectual dishonesty. The country was told nightly over the radio that the Hitler government was taking over a "heap of ruins" from the Marxist parties, and the impression was successfully created among a large part of the electorate that the Socialists had laid low a flourishing empire by their treachery. The fact that the Socialists in 1918 had taken over a state that had been forced to fight a world of enemies through the diplomatic blunders of the Kaiser and his advisers, and had lost the World War because of the political blindness of the German generals who threw up the sponge weeks before the revolution, was not mentioned. Nor was it pointed out that the Socialists alone had had the courage to undertake the task of saving the nation in the midst of the debacle, when most of the royalists were fleeing to cover and their organ, the *Kreuzzeitung*, was removing from its masthead its motto, "Vorwärts mit Gott für König und Vaterland." Among other things entirely overlooked were the services of Gustav Stresemann in securing the liberation of the Rhineland and the achievement of Brüning in winning the respect of foreign creditor nations in the teeth of lying anti-German propaganda, such as "Other People's Money," and so paving the way for the abolition of reparations practically without conditions. Needless to say, Nazi speakers did not tell their audiences that the Socialists were in the government only for a total of six years from 1919 to 1932, and that the allies of the Hitler party in the Harzburg Cabinet, the Nationalists, were twice in the government during this time, and that the Dawes Plan was passed through the Reichstag only by the acquiescence of the party which is now led by Alfred Hugenberg.

Otto Braun, who for many years was Prussian Premier, was especially marked out for attack by the Nazis. When this Socialist leader went over the border the night before the election to visit his wife who was ill in Switzerland—although he returned next day to vote—the Nazi announcer on the radio made it appear that Braun was fleeing the country. Franz von Papen, to his credit, did intervene when the Nazis tried to accuse Braun of appropriating two million marks of state funds for election propaganda last year, and issued a statement that there could be no question of Braun's personal integrity. But the most dramatic moment of the entire campaign came near the end when Dr. Brüning, the former Chancellor, speaking at an election rally in the Berlin Sport Palace, called on President Hindenburg to intervene "actively" in behalf of the people (the Socialists) who had supported him for reelection just a year ago this March and who were now being deprived of their rights by the parties (Nazis and Nationalists) which at that time had opposed the Field Marshal.

President Hindenburg has keenly disappointed those Socialists and Liberals who voted for him a year ago in the belief that although he was a monarchist at heart he could be relied upon to see that the constitution was upheld. That confidence does not exist today. The first shock came when Hindenburg suddenly dismissed Brüning. The Catholic leader's resignation—for the first time under the republic a chancellor had been forced to resign without losing the support of the parliament—revealed to the public how accessible the aged President was to the suggestions of his Junker friends. During the campaign Hitler, Hugenberg, and other Cabinet ministers repeatedly announced the intention of the government to remain in office no matter how the elections turned out, without once being contradicted by Hindenburg. Friedrich von Winterfeldt, vice-chairman of the Nationalist Party, revealed a talk he had with President Hindenburg in which the latter was quoted as expressing his satisfaction that "at last" a "national government" had been formed. Hindenburg's picture was used on the party placards of the Nazis, who only a year ago were speaking disrespectfully of him as an old man, and his name was drawn into the arena of party politics by being mentioned by government speakers as the patron of the Harzburg Cabinet, although the constitution intends that the president should be above the parties. Republican confidence in the President was undermined when he allowed the decision of the Supreme Court at Leipzig to be set aside by an emergency decree depriving the Braun Cabinet in Prussia of its remaining powers, and confidence was well-nigh destroyed when the Field Marshal failed to protect the constitutional rights of the minority parties. A prominent Socialist leader, when I asked him if he thought the Social Democrats had made a mistake in supporting Hindenburg last year, replied: "I always said that Hindenburg was not our man, but I told our people that he had a sense of right. I would not say so today."

Germany has now ratified the nationalist alliance that

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has been struck between Hindenburg and Hitler. Fascism or monarchy seems to be the choice facing the Reich today, with the odds in favor of the dictatorship. In the Harzburg Cabinet are the Hugenberg Nationalists who are openly for the restoration of the monarchy. As Winterfeldt said recently, "A president dies, but a king never dies." Hitler has always avoided taking a definite stand on this question, although it is significant that he was lately quoted as saying in an interview with an English correspondent that there could be no question of the return of the Hohenzollerns. The fact that his party is built on fascist traditions and his own personal ambition probably precludes any great inclination to bring about a return to Germany of the fallen dynasty.

For the paradox is that Hitler, although he publicly derides democracy, is himself the product of German democracy. This former paper-hanger boasts that he is "a son of the people," and, indeed, in the old imperial order that existed before the war he could never have hoped to fill the seat of Bismarck. His is an anti-democratic party that has gained power and office by democratic methods. The aristocrats, the "fine people," like Papen, thought a year ago that they could patronize Hitler and restore the old regime in the Reich by climbing on the back of his mass movement. They soon discovered their mistake. Hitler's party overthrew in turn Papen and Schleicher, both of whom thought they could tame the Nazi leader. And when the Junkers and Papen fancied that they could put Hitler in chains by giving him the chancellorship on terms, it appears that they erred again.

For the Nazis have been elected to the Reichstag in more than five times the strength of their Nationalist allies. Even with the accession of Papen and the Steel Helmets, the Hugenberg Nationalists were barely able to maintain their strength in the parliament in an enormously increased poll. Hitler can do without the monarchists, but they remain in the government now only on his sufferance. The future of Germany lies in the hands of the politically untrained middle-class masses of Germany that raised Adolf Hitler to the place of the princes and not in those of the representatives of that feudal and industrial aristocracy which still dreams of restoring the system of 1914.

The Money Changers Linger

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, March 18

THE last fortnight has left Washington breathless and bewildered, not to say dizzy. The transformation of the old merry-go-round into a roller-coaster was a bit sudden for the passengers, and not all of them have been able to keep their hair out of their eyes. We asked for action, friends—and did we get it! Just what the ultimate results will be no man can foretell. It is plain that some thousands of banks have closed, never to open again, and that the innocent depositors must suffer with the guilty bankers. Official assurances to the contrary are applesauce. A vast curtailment of the veterans' graft is in sight, but with it comes a threat to impose new hardships on an army of underpaid federal employees. Worse, hundreds of conscienceless scoundrels throughout the country have already seized upon that threat as an excuse for inflicting additional cuts in the pay of their own miserable hirelings. For the first time since the depression set in, there will be an honest effort to relieve unemployment, although, to be effective, it must include more than the employment of sufficient men to clear the underbrush out of the national parks. Enough currency for everybody is now available, the only problem being how to get hold of it. It might reasonably be inferred from events of the last week that the Administration proposes to restore prosperity by inflating the currency while further deflating credit and wages, but I hasten to add that it is too early to draw inferences of that breadth and finality. The confidence and enthusiasm which Roosevelt has kindled—rapidly approaching idolatry—are bound to have beneficial effects, especially in a time like this, although I never took much stock in the theory that economic dislocations can be cured by Dr. Coué's method. Hoover tried that. Even at this early and fluid stage, however, we may be positive on one score. We shall soon have beer, and that is something.

THE truth is that Roosevelt walked into a perfectly terrifying situation—and was not the least bit terrified. He delivered his inaugural address with full knowledge that the entire banking system of the United States was getting ready to explode in his face. Few executives have been in a tougher spot. He acted drastically, even brutally, but I have yet to hear what else he could have done. He knew, to be sure, that many of the banks would not reopen, but it seems to me he was faced with the alternatives of closing some of them permanently or seeing all of them closed by panic. The haste with which the emergency bank bill was drafted and passed naturally exposes it to criticism, although its defects would appear to be those of omission. In the bankers Roosevelt was dealing with a class of individuals who, on the whole, have fairly earned the title of public enemies, and if he had elected to treat them as such the country would have supported him with all its heart. Having them at his mercy, two tremendous opportunities were open to him. First, he could have provided himself with power to raise the limit on deposits in the postal savings banks, and to open them to checking accounts; second, he could have obtained authority to declare the Federal Reserve banks commercial banks, thus establishing the nucleus of a unified banking system under control of the Federal Reserve Board. Before these two clubs the most arrogant of our financial masters would have groveled in submission and terror. There is a danger that the strong surviving banks will seize the opportunity to gobble up the country's business at about ten cents on the dollar, and, as one of my colleagues phrased it, "simply centralize the stealing." Let me add, moreover, that some of us would breathe more freely if Mills, Meyer, and Ballantine were seen no more around the Treasury. They appear to have hung on as "technical advisers," but in this situation "technique" is indiscernible from policy.

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The proximity of Barney Baruch is equally alarming. Who told Secretary Woodin it was necessary to pay 4 per cent for short-term money, when the Treasury recently was borrowing for as little as ⅛ of 1 per cent? Why didn't we ask for bids in the first place? It is good to hear about the money changers being driven from the temple: it will be better still when they are actually out.

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PUBLIC resentment against the greed displayed by the veterans has become so strong that some of the deserving are now likely to be deprived of their due. That I am not unsympathetic with the plight of unemployed ex-soldiers and their families will be attested, I think, by anyone who read my narrative of their treatment by Hoover's army here last July. But their insistence on favored treatment, as distinguished from the other ten million of unemployed, has effectively alienated public sympathy. If the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, instead of pursuing a policy of narrow selfishness, had espoused the cause of all the unemployed, all would now be better off. As it is, every nickel hereafter paid out by the Veterans' Bureau will be scrutinized with a grudging eye, and properly so. At the same time, all friends of democratic institutions must look with deep misgiving upon the abdication of Congress by which this result is to be achieved. Nobody with a grain of discernment can question Roosevelt's good intentions: it is the precedent which is dangerous. "I could not vote," said Senator Clark of Missouri, "to confer these powers upon a President who combined all the great qualities of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln." The very fact that Roosevelt may be expected to exercise his unprecedented authority with restraint, and to relinquish it cheerfully, contains the seed of future perils. It is the unpopular dictator who makes dictatorship unpopular—and vice versa. In this instance, moreover, the transfer of legislative powers to the President was patently unnecessary. Congress had demonstrated its willingness to enact any measure recommended by him. To argue that the same Congress which gave the President authority to make these reductions would have refused to make them, is just about the limit in absurdity. As a matter of sober fact, nine-tenths of the discussion in Congress revolved around the merit of the proposed cuts rather than around the manner of making them. That is why Borah, replying to the ancient pedagogue, Simian Fess, said: "There may be reasons for doing extraordinary things in extraordinary times, but there is no justification for perverting American history." We can only be thankful that the recipient of this extraordinary—and unnecessary—grant of power is a man of good sense. Of course, he will exercise a very small fraction of it. Of necessity its practical application will be in the hands of a horde of bureaucrats. And as Henry Mencken says, the only good bureaucrat is one with a pistol at his head.

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IT is difficult to describe the change which occurred in the atmosphere of Washington on March 4. It was like walking out of a reeking chamber into cold air. Every afternoon, indeed, thousands of people may be seen walking briskly up and down Pennsylvania Avenue, inhaling copious draughts of this new, untainted, and invigorating ozone. As they walk they talk to themselves. One mutters: "No Doak, no Hurley, no Hyde, no Hoover." Another exclaims rapturously: "These Roosevelts are real people!" To the simple cliff-dwellers of Washington it is mainly a matter of atmosphere, but the change goes far deeper. We of the working press, for example, at last find ourselves assembled around a President of the United States who not only is willing to answer direct oral questions, but actually invites them. He has been warned that this is dangerous, but he is willing to take a shot at it. We crowd about him. Not a Secret Service man in sight. Get within six feet of Hoover and he'd have jumped right through the window. But the crippled man has no apprehensions, no suspicions—not even after Miami. Incidentally, I suspect that is one of the things that makes the country so mad about him. But it goes deeper still. Perhaps the most eloquent opponents of his emergency banking bill were Senators La Follette and Costigan, a Republican and a Democrat. If speeches had been of any avail, they would have blocked it. Yet, on the following morning, Senators La Follette and Costigan were invited to accompany Democratic leaders to the White House. The banking bill had been passed; it was history. The President wished to discuss the problem of unemployment relief. Since La Follette and Costigan were authorities on the subject, he invited them as a matter of course. Indeed, he has continued to confer with them and with the third recognized authority on that subject—Senator Wagner of New York. In that fact we may find ample hope for an adequate national program. But Roosevelt's singular and almost incredible adaptability to the world's hardest job is not limited to his personal wholesomeness, his candor with the reporters, his individual courage, or his ability to work with men who do not always approve his measures. Thus far the quality which has stood out above all others is his amazing administrative efficiency. In addition to the banking crisis, in addition to the general economic collapse, in addition to the necessity of presenting a legislative program, he was required to take over ten major executive departments and God only knows how many bureaus and commissions, manned in the main by people who had voted against him, and sworn to do everything possible to hamper him. Nevertheless, he succeeded in getting things done, including a vast deal of detailed work—and without worry. The problem before him now is to increase the purchasing power of the people. This can be done (a) by giving them money; (b) by lending them money; or (c) by giving them jobs; or by all three. The first means a dole, the second means lending money to the unemployed, the third means a large program of public works. It is not an easy choice, but Roosevelt has the country by the tail with a downhill drag and he can do as he pleases.

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IN this day of social and political revolution the Supreme Court of the United States remains strangely apathetic. Mr. Dooley said that the American flag follows the dollar and the Supreme Court follows the election returns. The majority opinion of the court in the case of the State of Florida against chain stores would indicate that Mr. Dooley was wrong. In an opinion rendered, I regret to say, by my old friend Mr. Justice Roberts, the power of the State to apply discriminatory taxation as a means of preventing domination of intrastate commerce by capitalistic corporations was

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denied. There were dissents by Justices Stone, Cardozo, and Brandeis, but the broad and brilliant statement of the case came, as might be expected, from Brandeis. I emphasize it because the daily press, in its ignorance, has neglected it. The right of the State, he said,

> . . . flows from the broader right of Americans to preserve, and to establish from time to time, such institutions, social and economic, as seem to them desirable; and, likewise, to end those which they deem undesirable. The State might, if conditions warranted, subject giant corporations to a control similar to that now exerted over public-utility companies. Or the citizens of Florida might conceivably escape from the domination of giant corporations by having the State engage in business. . . . There is a widespread belief that the existing unemployment is the result, in large part, of the gross inequality in the distribution of wealth and income which giant corporations have fostered; that by the control which the few have exerted through giant corporations, individual initiative and effort are being paralyzed, creative power impaired, and human happiness lessened; that the true prosperity of our past came not from big business, but through the courage, the energy, and the resourcefulness of small men; that only by releasing from corporate control the faculties of the unknown many, only by reopening to them the opportunities for leadership, can confidence in our future be restored and the existing misery be overcome; and that only through participation by the many in the responsibilities of business can Americans secure the moral and intellectual development which is essential to the maintenance of liberty. I know of nothing in the federal constitution which precludes the State from endeavoring to give it effect and prevent domination in intrastate commerce by subjecting corporate chains to discriminatory license fees. To that extent, the citizens of each State are still masters of their destiny.

However, Mr. Justice Brandeis was mistaken. He was surrounded by immature men who had failed to learn anything about the society in which they lived. Mrs. Partington should have been a member of the United States Supreme Court.

Russia Looks for Friends

By LOUIS FISCHER

THE Franco-Soviet rapprochement is a most significant recent development in international politics. Initiated by Briand under the threat of the German-Austrian customs union of 1930, the new bond between Moscow and Paris has been reinforced by the accession of Hitler. France is in a pacific mood. Soviet Russia always was. German fascism arouses dread in France and abhorrence among the Bolsheviks. Powerful influences in Berlin, including General von Seekt and the Reichswehr, recognize the important role which friendship for Russia plays in Germany's relations with the West, but demagogues are never distinguished by excessive subtlety, and Hitler's frantic attacks on "Marxism" may well strain his tortured country's relations with the Soviet Union—although how he can afford to antagonize both Russia and Poland baffles all understanding. The Nazis, who yearn to restore the trappings of imperial Germany, may at least succeed in reestablishing the pre-war balance of power in Europe, with this difference: Germany is in a hopeless economic plight, the vital sections of old Austria-Hungary are French vassals instead of Germany's allies, and Russia has been rejuvenated and partially industrialized.

For an entire decade, from 1922 to 1932, the Soviet Government was Germany's buffer and insurance against intolerable pressure from France and Britain. That period is fast drawing to an end. It may already be a closed chapter. For Germany there is no substitute unless it be the Italy of war-time-treachery memory; Hitlerism, therefore, can only weaken Germany's international position. For Russia the alternative is France. Soviet Russia, to be sure, is France's ultimate rival for the hegemony of the Continent. But that situation is remote. For the present, Bolshevism is devoted to peace despite its violent aversion to the injustice of Versailles and its attachment to the world revolutionary goal.

The proofs and the results of the growing Franco-Soviet rapprochement are the non-aggression pacts Moscow has signed recently with Poland and France. But no less important is the support which Maxim Litvinov has given to and received from the Quai d'Orsay's delegates at Geneva. When the Franco-Soviet pact was signed, Litvinov hinted in an interview with the Moscow correspondent of the *Petit Parisien* that Russia would be prepared to accept the French principle of security first and disarmament later. This represented a partial adaptation of the Kremlin's earlier views to the traditional French thesis. Litvinov repeated at the February 6 session of the Disarmament Conference that the way to disarm is to disarm. But the Bolsheviks are realists; they see that the world will not seriously discuss disarmament—much less armaments—without a preliminary understanding on sanctions, aggression, security, and the like.

The French have been worried about the Kellogg Pact. As it stands it is a pious hope. Mr. Stimson, too, was for years interested in finding a way of implementing it. Litvinov's address of February 6—by far the most important statement on Soviet foreign policy in recent years—in which he sketched a new function for the Kellogg Pact, was therefore an indication, among other things, that Moscow and Washington might see eye to eye on problems which concern America more than they do Russia. Litvinov advocated immediate consultation when any Power has committed an act of aggression, and agreed further that any violation of the Kellogg Pact should be punished by a universal economic and financial boycott. The Commissar then proceeded to give his definition of an aggressor—a document well worth studying. Thereupon Prime Minister Paul-Boncour rose, praised the Muscovite, and added that "if one overlooked some of the pin pricks for capitalist states," which were excusable as merely "returning tit for tat," the Russian definition was "very close" to that of the French. About a month later Paul-Boncour returned to Geneva to pay another glowing tribute to Litvinov's address on aggressors. Dovgalevsky, the Soviet ambassador to Paris, warmly thanked him. At

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this, Paul-Boncour "crossed the room and effusively shook Dovgalevsky's hand." Never since the Entente Cordiale ended, one eyewitness commented, had such a tone been used by Russia toward France—nor, I might add, toward any bourgeois state with the exception, perhaps, of Germany. The new relationship between France and the Soviet Union, in other words, is already operating to change international constellations. It will probably have significant and early repercussions in the Far East.

France's role is to serve as an intermediary between Russia and Japan. The Chinese Eastern Railway may be the opening wedge and the connecting link. The Soviet attitude toward the Manchurian problem is very simple: the Bolsheviks do not like to have Japan in Manchuria. Japan is an embarrassing land neighbor. She has far-reaching ambitions in Siberia which necessarily make Moscow uncomfortable. The memories of Japanese invasions of Siberia in 1918, 1919, and 1920 still linger. But there is not much that Russia can do about the new regime in Manchukuo. She cannot go to war with Japan, and nothing less than war will get the Japanese out of the Eastern Provinces. Japan, moreover, subjects the U. S. S. R. to constant diplomatic pressure, military threats, and economic flirtations which make it increasingly difficult for Russia to remain isolated in her anti-Japanese attitude. It was a foregone conclusion that the Kremlin would not accept the League's invitation to associate itself with the Committee of Nineteen's condemnation of Japanese aggrandizement in Manchuria. The reason given was that more than a dozen of the Powers represented on the committee did not maintain normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The real reason was that the United States did not maintain normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Russia cannot further antagonize Japan without some countervailing support, and that can only come from America. Indeed, Russia's neutrality is beginning to irk Japan, and, after all, when the Japanese finish the conquest of Jehol they can, if they have no immediate designs on Peiping and Tientsin, concentrate with dreadful intensity on Siberia.

All this means one thing: if the United States does not recognize the Soviet Government in the nearest future, the Soviet Government will be forced, regretfully, to indicate its formal acceptance of the new status quo in China. This would undermine the Stimson doctrine, which Mr. Roosevelt has approved, and weaken the League's anti-Japanese stand. The Stimson doctrine lacks force and substance without Soviet-American diplomatic collaboration.

Assuming belated recognition, or piecemeal recognition, or conditional recognition—the Bolsheviks would not be able to accept many conditions—France may be expected to act as go-between for Japan with Russia. When Matsuoka, Japan's chief delegate to the League of Nations, visited Paris recently, he dropped a hint that France could obtain a share in the Chinese Eastern Railway if both Russia and China, which now manage the line jointly, would renounce 50 per cent of their interests. This is an example of Japanese pressure on Russia. The railroad is Russian-owned; management is divided between the U. S. S. R. and all of China, not Manchuria alone. Matsuoka, nevertheless, reminds France of her old concern with the Chinese Eastern and of the fact that it was originally built with her money, and then proceeds to suggest that Russia should and Manchukuo will surrender half of their hold on the line, so that France can be doubly as strong as either. The whole transaction, of course, is highly complicated, and could not go through overnight. Yet Japan and Manchukuo would like France to invest in the Three Provinces, and if Moscow were offered a hundred million dollars for its share in the Chinese Eastern there would be an almost irresistible tendency to accept. The line is not much good now anyway. The Russians would merely be selling their nuisance value.

This is only one of the bridges over which France can bring Japan and the Union together. They can also agree without an intermediary. The Bolsheviks want a non-aggression pact with Japan. Tokio has refused for the last sixteen months to negotiate one. The former Japanese ambassador in Moscow said: "We want a free hand." The Japanese have a single argument on which they could base their opposition to the pact. They might contend that since Russia would not be likely to attack Japan but could conceivably attack Manchukuo, Japan wants, in exchange for a treaty pledging herself not to invade the U. S. S. R., a Soviet promise to refrain from aggression against Manchukuo. Russia is extremely anxious to have a non-aggression agreement with Japan. It would give some limited measure of security. Russia is therefore prepared to sign simultaneously a treaty with Manchukuo—a step that would be real but not de jure recognition of Manchukuo. The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs contends that a non-aggression pact with Manchukuo would no more imply de jure recognition than Russia's and America's signing of the non-aggression agreement called the Kellogg Pact implied recognition of Russia by America.

If China were to complain that such a document seemed to sanction the separation of Manchukuo, the Soviets' easy reply is: "We want security. We will sign a non-aggression pact with Nanking. But would that safeguard us against aggression by Manchukuo? Obviously not." The Russians, in other words, see their way clear to an understanding with Manchukuo which may lead to a paper of truce with Japan.

A Soviet-Japanese-Manchukuo pact, of course, was just as possible four months ago. It did not materialize because the Russians have hesitated to sign an agreement with Japan. They have waited for some strengthening of their own position and some effective anti-Japanese measures by the Powers. No such measures have intervened. The League's decisions matter very little to Japan. The British embargo on shipments of arms to Japan and China was a pro-Japanese move. How, under the circumstances, can anyone expect the Soviet Government to remain in its exposed position and hold out against Japan all alone? Next to China, Russia is most accessible to a Japanese blow. Russia, therefore, cannot afford to defy or irritate Japan unless she has the feeling that she is not completely isolated.

Moscow may be able to postpone a definite shift of policy for a little while longer. But with France coming closer and Japan pressing harder, the time grows short. One cannot say it too directly: this is the hour for recognition by the United States. It would be as effective as building a bigger navy and keeping it in the Pacific. In fact, that strategy seems inconsistent unless accompanied by recognition. If the United States is afraid to ruffle Japan by establishing relations with Moscow, it should transfer half the navy back to the eastern seaboard.

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Hammond and Gary Face the Disaster

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

LAKE COUNTY, Indiana, which includes the industrial cities of Gary, East Chicago, Indiana Harbor, Whiting, and Hammond, has tried to meet the depression efficiently. It has mobilized its forces for self-aid; the authorities have fed and clothed 44,000 people, members of about 11,000 families, who are maintained by township taxes disbursed by the township trustees. Ten thousand additional families are being supported, in whole or in part, by employers, by the Red Cross, by the schools, and by the Community Chest. At least 80,000 people in the two great industrial towns of Hammond and Gary must be given aid. During the day I spent there recently a mob of 500 men and women "stormed the Hammond office of Trustee Myrtle G. Meara to protest against the present method of poor-relief distribution"—I quote from a Hammond paper. "The speakers demanded more food, a certain amount of cash, and discontinuance of the present basket system of poor-relief distribution." Of course the police, or the reporter, running true to convention, voiced "the belief that the demonstration was incited by Communist leaders." It would seem as if that were hardly necessary to cause a protest among the thousands who receive their dole in baskets of food and bundles of clothes, and rarely have a cent for any pressing personal needs. Lake County, I repeat, has done its best, but the relief funds of two of the townships are at present overdrawn by about $2,400,000, which is covered by tax-anticipation warrants based on the 1933 and 1934 tax collections. With the industries of the communities operating at between 10 and 25 per cent of capacity it will be impossible to collect a large Community Chest fund this year. If the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or the government does not come to the rescue, there will be more serious happenings than protest mobs 500 strong.

It is a desperately difficult situation. What makes it an especially interesting study is that this group of cities covers one of the most highly industrialized areas in the United States. One drives past one huge plant after another. There are half a dozen large oil concerns, including a Sinclair depot, and Standard Oil and Shell plants. The Anaconda Copper Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the Inland Steel Company, the great Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, the Universal Atlas Portland Cement Company, the Grasselli Chemical Company, the General American Tank Car Company, the Standard Steel Car Company are there in whole or in part, and so are several hundred other large and small plants. The Hammond and East Chicago areas include a population of 132,268, while Calumet township, which includes Gary and Hobart, has about 103,268. As is always the case where there is heavy industry, the bulk of the workingmen are foreign born or of foreign extraction. No less than forty-three nationalities are represented in the schools, chiefly Poles, Slavs, Serbs, Croatians, Italians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Russians, generally of peasant stock, without much education among the elder group. In addition, there are 23,748 Negroes, and there were no less than 9,007 Mexicans—3,500 of these have been sent back to Mexico by special trains, and they have been glad to go. A large percentage of the plants are operating on very short time. What aggravates the situation for the workers is the fact that no less than thirty-one banking institutions have failed since the crisis began. For one whole year the city of Hammond was without a bank. Today there is only one operating; all the rest are being liquidated.

When I asked my usual question: "What will these towns look like if the crisis goes on two years longer?" I got the stock answer: "God only knows, but there will certainly be bloodshed and complete misery unless the federal government steps in." Lake County spent in 1932 about $4,000,000 for the relief of its poor, with private sources yielding $700,000 of this amount. If the law passed by the special session of the Indiana legislature in 1932 limiting all tax levies of State, township, and city governments to $1.50 a thousand were enforced, there would be an immediate breakdown of relief of a character to precipitate an immediate crisis; so far the law has been ignored. As it is, with the aid of the Red Cross 31,760 barrels of flour were given out in 1932, and community bakeries were established by charitable organizations, with the result that bread was produced at a fraction of a cent a loaf. Relief gardens and soup kitchens have also played their part, and a large quantity of vegetables has been canned. A total of 37,000 yards of material was worked up into clothes in four months in East Chicago alone, 75 per cent of this being done in the homes where the garments were to be used. The shirt factories sewed buttonholes, and gave free instruction in the making of the clothes, while the Albert Given Pants factory took care of cutting the garments. The fuel situation has thus far been met successfully with the aid of the oil refineries and other industries which gave coke and coal and the wood of old cars. Hundreds of tons of coal and coke have been mined by the people themselves out of the mill dumps, and thousands of cords of wood have been cut on the nearby dunes on the lake front.

I do not know whether all the companies have displayed the fine spirit of the Inland Steel Company and the Illinois Steel Company, but if they have one must write a fine chapter to the credit of big business. The position of the companies is extraordinarily difficult. Their reserves are steadily being drawn down, especially when they are working at only 10 per cent of capacity, yet their overhead goes on because they cannot dispense with their executives, their experts, or their long-trained key workers who are essential to any revivification of these plants. Some of them have, of course, taken the opportunity to modernize their plants and improve their methods of production. The technocrats will be interested to hear that the head of one of the great steel companies told me that they would never take back more than 85 per cent of their employees, even if prosperity should rise to the level of 1929, and the superintendent of one of the great oil refineries was quoted to me as having said that he would never again employ more than his present force of 600, although he had 3,000 men at work when the crisis came. It is this technological unemployment which renders Lake County so eager to repatriate the rest of the Mexicans. The companies have

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gone ahead generously and intelligently in helping where they could.

Take the case of the Inland Steel Company. It began its relief work in October, 1930, just as soon as it appeared that the serious decrease in production was going to be protracted. A relief club was organized and the men were asked to contribute a small percentage of their pay each month, nothing being expected of anyone who earned less than $100 a month. An amount equal to that collected from the employees was contributed by the company, and the officials in the Chicago office met all the overhead expense of the relief work. The general superintendent, H. R. DeHoll, was quick to realize the need of professional aid in handling the relief and he turned at once to the Chicago office of the Salvation Army, which gladly contributed three of its best investigators. Mr. DeHoll headed a committee composed of various department superintendents. Upon the latter was placed the responsibility of seeing, first, that no application for relief passed through any hands but their own and those of their foremen, and, secondly, that through them aid should be obtained from outside sources such as schools, churches, and so on. In addition to personal visits from the superintendents and foremen, every application was investigated by the three Salvation Army workers. While this seems to suggest a duplication of effort, it made it possible for supplies to be distributed on the day on which the request for aid was made.

What makes this work the more praiseworthy is that it was undertaken at a time when the municipal authorities had not yet begun to act. In addition to giving food, fuel, and some clothing, light and gas bills were paid, medical treatment provided, and, to prevent evictions, rents were paid. The burden on the company has grown steadily lighter, partly because of the repatriation of the Mexicans, partly because many transient workers have left and some of the older employees have gone back to relatives; there has also been a real "back-to-the-farm" movement. Aid is now given only to employees who live in East Chicago and Indiana Harbor. Those outside these districts are being taken care of by the municipalities. Some employment there is, but the wages paid barely suffice to keep the men and their families alive; on the other hand, there is no favoritism, such as is to be found elsewhere, with some workers getting high wages and others getting nothing at all.

The Illinois Steel Company has stood behind the W. P. Gleason Welfare Center, which was established in 1913. In 1932 the officials of the center interviewed 28,458 individuals who needed relief, which was actually given to the representatives of 22,155 families in Gary. No less than 10,372 patients were given medical treatment and medicine. In nearly every case the sufferers were entirely destitute. There were 2,097 babies, 3,161 children between the ages of two and sixteen, and 5,114 adults. When families could not pay for gas, cooking stoves were supplied, as well as food, clothing, and milk. Even more important was the giving of advice in regard to mortgages, rents, evictions, insurance, heat, light, and water. Tubercular patients are sent to the State tuberculosis sanitarium after examination at the tuberculosis clinic, and orthopedic patients to the State Hospital for crippled children in Indianapolis. "There is no phase of family welfare work with which we do not have to deal in our daily routine," writes the superintendent of the clinic. In addition, there are relief gardens comprising 253 acres of ground. No less than 5,000 bushels of potatoes and 7,500 bushels of turnips were produced on the seventy-six acres set aside for these crops; the rest of the land went into individual gardens. Hundreds of men were permitted to cut wood for their own use on lands acquired by the company. There is universal testimony that the chief credit for all of these activities belongs to W. P. Gleason, the general superintendent, who is indefatigable in his own efforts and recognizes to the full the social and moral responsibility of the employer to the employee.

It is unpleasant to turn from these pictures of what some of the companies are doing for their men to the general scene. It is impossible to view it without a sinking of the heart because there are so many obvious signs of the lowering of the standards of living and the decay of business and industrial life. There are not only visible all the closed banks and the usual empty shops; there are miles and miles of abandoned divisions and subdivisions and suburban properties which were laid out in the boom times and supplied with paved streets, water, gas, and electricity, even when there was not a single house in sight. Indeed, this real-estate boom and speculation in land were factors that account for the severity of the depression and the impoverishment of multitudes, even when they have kept their businesses and their jobs. There were 1,472 decrees of foreclosure in 1932. One hears the usual tales of men who had some wealth now reduced to absolute penury. Barter has come in, and by an ingenious scheme devised by Horace S. French, receiver of the First Trust and Savings Bank of Hammond, certificates of deposit in the closed bank are used as a medium of exchange and have been accepted as payments in the case of property sold at auction by the bank's receiver. Physicians are paid with chickens, turkeys, and vegetables of all kinds, and they continue to give their services, as they do all over the United States, even when payments are few and far between. American good-will and American ingenuity are playing their part here as elsewhere.

But when it comes to the future, the best of those who are working day and night to hold the community together cannot conceal their anxiety. Where is the money to come from? The county is borrowing, not only against taxes which may or may not be collectable, but from other sources. The State itself is obtaining help from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. It is obvious that nothing but a State or federal dole will suffice a year from now unless people are to die of starvation—assuming, of course, that there is no radical improvement in the situation within the next few months. Meanwhile, the crisis has not only taught the people to pull together and aid one another, but has set them thinking. The minds of business men have been opened to new ideas. They are ready to listen to discussions they would not have tolerated two or three years ago. As in other cities in the Middle West, people are getting together to discuss the situation and see if they can ascertain what this economic breakdown means. The forums are well attended, sometimes crowded, and the speakers who are in demand are those who have heretofore ranked as radicals—in other words, mild liberals according to English and European standards. There is an intellectual ferment going on. It needs only a leader and a program for the West to take fire. Lake County is about ready for both.

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Sharing Doesn't Hurt

By HENRY J. ROSNER

FOR two years the rich people of the United States have been flooded with appeals to contribute to funds to feed the hungry and destitute unemployed. It is common knowledge that these campaigns have failed to raise enough money to alleviate any but a small fraction of the known distress. Few realize, however, to what extent the failure of private charity in this depression can be directly attributed to the unwillingness of those with means to share with their less fortunate brothers.

The United States Bureau of Internal Revenue in its preliminary Statistics of Income for 1931, recently published, cites figures which should have received more attention because they destroy completely the myth of the generosity of America's millionaires. Under the federal income-tax act, contributions to relief, educational, and religious organizations may be deducted in arriving at the net taxable income. The government statistics show the total contributions made in the separate categories of income. Computations from their tables show the contribution and tax of the average income in each of the income groups. The results are startling, even to those who have never had much faith in the philanthropy of the wealthy. The following table summarizes a detailed analysis too long to be printed here.

Net Income[1]	*Contribution*	*Percentage*	*Tax*	*Left for Personal Use*[2]
$7,000	$161	2.3	$33	$6,967
14,500	391	2.7	231	14,269
34,000	1,088	3.2	1,646	32,354
67,000	2,546	3.8	5,700	61,300
120,000	5,280	4.4	13,900	106,100
200,000	9,000	4.5	27,300	172,700
382,000	19,100	5.0	60,000	322,000
690,000	41,400	6.0	104,300	585,700
2,173,000	136,890	6.3	350,000	1,823,000

In 1931 the plight of the distressed, broadcast as it was throughout the land, had evidently little effect in loosening the purse-strings of those who could give. The individual with a personal income of $61,300 could have contributed more than $2,546 for charitable, educational, and religious purposes; the individual with an income of $1,823,000 suffered no reduction in his standards of living through his gift of $136,890. It is interesting to consider how much could have been raised for unemployment relief if in 1932 the national government had levied on the 1931 incomes shown in the above table a special tax for this purpose, beginning with a tax of 5 per cent on the income left for personal use in the first group and increasing the tax by 5 per cent on each succeeding group until it reached a maximum of 45 per cent in the last category. It would have yielded additional revenue of $763,000,000—a sum four times larger than the $199,000,000 actually contributed. If the extra tax had begun with 10 per cent and ended with 90 per cent, one and a half billion dollars would have been available for the relief of the unemployed.

If the reader is gasping at this proposal, let him ask himself whether, even with the additional tax, he would not be willing to exchange incomes with the persons affected. The possessor of the $14,000 income would still have had $11,000 to live on, the $61,300 group would have had $36,000, the $322,000 group would still have had $96,600, and those with incomes of $1,823,000 would still have had $182,000 to spend every year. If the proposed change in taxation still appears to be revolutionary, let the reader remember that there are at least 13,000,000 unemployed, and that persons who are employed today earn an average annual wage in the neighborhood of $1,000.

It may be urged that the principle of levying a special tax solely for unemployment relief beginning with 10 per cent and increasing by 10 per cent on each category until it reached a maximum of 90 per cent would not yield enormous revenues in 1933 because of the recent increase in income-tax rates. Although the maximum surtax rates have risen from 20 to 55 per cent, the rise in the actual tax paid by the middle incomes, from $7,000 to $200,000, has not been so great as to make it unfair to apply the principle. This is important because the greatest yield comes from these groups, since they contain so many persons. Below is a summary table which shows the regular tax that will have to be paid in 1933 for the average incomes included in the above compilation, and the money that would be left for personal expenditure after both the regular income tax and the proposed special unemployment-relief tax were paid.

Income	*Regular Tax*	*Special Tax*	*Income Left for Personal Expenditure*
7,000	$215	$678	$6,107
14,500	955	2,709	10,836
34,000	4,340	8,898	20,762
67,000	14,500	21,000	31,500
120,000	41,100	39,450	39,450
200,000	86,600	68,040	45,360
382,000	192,160	132,888	56,952
690,000	377,600	249,920	62,480
2,173,000	1,310,468	776,812	86,320

If the 1933 returns were identical with those of 1932, the yield from the special tax would be $1,025,000,000. The Treasury Department estimates a 40 per cent decline in taxable incomes in the coming year, which would reduce the proceeds of the relief tax to $600,000,000—still a tidy sum. It is assumed, however, that there will be no further evasion of the tax because of the drastic increase. It is up to the government to stop up the holes in the law which allow evasion.

The primary reason for recommending the unorthodox procedure of levying a tax specifically for relief in addition to the customary tax is that public sentiment is less likely to be aroused against drastic increases if it is understood that the proceeds are to be allocated exclusively to meeting the needs of the jobless. It can be seen from the table that the

[1] Net income is income left after deducting contributions, losses from sale of real estate, stocks, bonds, etc., other than similar losses from sale of assets held more than two years, taxes and interest paid. It includes, however, personal allowances exempt from taxation.

[2] This is arrived at by deducting the tax from net income.

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plan would amount to a confiscation of all income above $86,000 a year. This may sound radical, but would any sane social order tolerate incomes even as large as these when privation and destitution are so widespread and when the one-third lucky enough to get relief seldom receive more than $20 a month per family?

Even $600,000,000 in 1933 would not meet the needs of the unemployed. It would be well, therefore, to use these revenues as a basis for borrowing. This policy continued for ten years would make it possible for the government to borrow $5,000,000,000 now for both direct relief and public works and pay it off at the end of the period. To restore the purchasing power of the workers in this way would hasten economic recovery and increase profits. Lower rates would then yield the $600,000,000 with ease.

It might be argued that the flow of new capital into industry which comes from the savings of the rich will be destroyed by this process. Normally, if one is committed to the maintenance of the present system, that would be a serious objection. It is not applicable now, however. One-half of the industrial equipment of the country is idle today because the masses do not have the money to buy the products of available productive facilities. We do not need more factories and power plants; we need more buying power. The banks at present are choked with money because there is no place to invest surplus funds profitably. Now is the time to call a halt on new investment, except for needed public improvements and government housing to wipe out the slums, and use the money to stimulate consumption.

Turn now to the practical and human implications of these figures. In the city of New York a committee headed by Harvey Gibson raised $15,000,000 this winter to finance the activities of an Emergency Work Bureau and the private-family relief agencies. The Emergency Work Bureau has been overwhelmed with applications from people in desperate need. The funds raised by the Gibson committee first enabled it to increase by 4,000, from the 56,000 applications received, the January pay roll of 17,000. Last week the Work Bureau announced that lack of funds compelled it to lay off 3,200 men, and that by April 1 another 7,000 would have to go. One reason for this lay-off is that many pledges that went to make up the $15,000,000 are not materializing. The objective of the committee should have been $35,000,000, not $15,000,000, to provide work for those in need. Judging by the difficulty of raising the $15,000,000, the directors of the drive were wise in not attempting to raise the larger required sum. Yet it should be easier to collect adequate relief funds in New York City than in any other community in the world. In 1929, though it contained only 5 per cent of the nation's population, New York City claimed 25 per cent of its millionaires. Certainly they could have afforded to be concerned with the plight of their fellow-men to the extent of $35,000,000.

Does not the failure of the rich in New York and other centers to meet our present relief emergency voluntarily destroy the premise of our existing federal policy? The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been to date niggardly in distributing unemployment funds, having lent about two-thirds of its $300,000,000 relief appropriation to local governments in the eight months that it has been authorized to do so. In support of their policy the directors of the R. F. C. assert that the intent of the federal relief act is that federal aid shall be supplemental to the local public appropriations and private charity, and not in lieu of such efforts. This theory is sound only if people with means are contributing as generously as they can to private funds. Most local systems of taxation do not levy heavy enough tolls on the wealthy through progressive income and inheritance taxes. Real-estate tax delinquencies have so undermined the solvency of even large cities like Detroit, Chicago, and New York that public relief funds have grown increasingly inadequate. The moral is plain. Since the rich will not give voluntarily, the power of the federal tax collector must be employed.

In the Driftway

THE thought of Charlie Anderson came to the Drifter on a west wind the other day and has been haunting him ever since. At this moment Charlie Anderson, if he still lives, is sitting before a wood stove in a cabin beside a road that leads to the peaks and ravines of the South Missions in the Montana Rockies. The road has not been seen, of course, since September, and if Charlie travels at all it must be on snowshoes. But it won't be long now before the snow begins to sink into slowly warming ground, the sound of streams flowing under thinning snow will grow louder and louder week by week, and steel-blue sheets of ice will warm into rippling lakes. Glaciers will come alive again and send green water down the canyons; and the whole minute and varied life of mountains and woods and rivers will start again with quiet inevitability.

* * * * *

AND life for Charlie Anderson will thaw out, too—become wider and warmer. Buds will swell and Charlie will put his cabin in order for its long summer emptiness. From last fall's supply of potatoes he will select enough for planting a new crop when the frost is out of the ground and the road is a muddy sponge. He will make a trip to the nearest store, and when he appears in its steaming, thawing "street," the straggling settlement will know that spring is imminent. With other grizzled mountain men and hibernating ranchers Charlie will exchange a few remarks as short as the winter has been long, and all of them will squint a little under the brightening sun.

* * * * *

AFTER June 1 Charlie will not be seen again where there are any human houses, but to anyone who cares to seek him out in his simple shelter on the top of a far mountain he will offer a generous meal, from a shelf of canned goods and a bag of flour, and a fir-bough bed as soft as anyone needs. He may be able to offer some excitement, too. For Charlie is a lookout man who for thirty years has watched for fires in the ranges of the South Missions. And if in the evening, as he talks about the family life of grizzly bears and gophers, of porcupines and moose, a tongue of flame should shoot from a tree across the deep valley, he might offer his visitor a government ax on a red handle and lead him twenty miles over a narrow trail to fight a forest fire. If there is a moon, well and good. If not, no matter. For Charlie can never be lost in the world he has chosen to live in.

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A MOUNTAIN is a fine place to repair to when the world goes to pieces, and the Drifter has made up his mind. The sound of one more falling bank president and he will write to Charlie Anderson and pack his rucksack. He will buy a thousand cans of vegetable soup and disappear forever into pine-treed reaches where the gold standard is only a streak of sunshine on a fallen log.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Heywood Broun Protests

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The editorial in *The Nation* of March 8 called The City Bank and the Press gives the impression that the *World-Telegram* made no comment on the findings of the Senate Banking Committee. The editors must have overlooked the fact that the *World-Telegram* on Saturday, February 25, carried in "It Seems to Me" a column which criticized Charles E. Mitchell and said in conclusion: "In addition to reform we should have resignations."

On Tuesday, February 28, my column again was devoted to the bank investigation and contained the sentence, "Personally I think there is no sure ground this side of having the federal government take over in its entirety the business of banking, savings banks, and insurance."

While it is true that "It Seems to Me" is not a part of the editorial policy of the *World-Telegram* I think it not unreasonable to suggest that it does contain comment which should be classed as editorial.

New York, March 10 HEYWOOD BROUN

[If Mr. Broun has not forgotten his memorable controversy with the editor of the former New York *World* he must realize that editorial comment in a signed column is not generally regarded as representing the editorial view of the newspaper in which it appears.

The Staats-Herold Corporation informs us that the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* on February 24 published a vigorous editorial comment on the National City Bank scandal. We are glad to record the fact.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Tax Church Property

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In casting about for something to tax in order to help balance its budget, has the government ever considered laying a small tax upon church property in the United States? In the year 1926, before either the boom or the depression, the total value of church edifices alone was reported by the United States census to be slightly under four billion dollars. These buildings for the most part occupy the most sightly and valuable corners, the choicest locations, in all our cities and villages, so it is only fair to assume that the real estate is more valuable than the edifices. Here then is a total of perhaps ten billions of actual, tangible wealth untouched by a tax. Just the nominal rate of three mills—most of us pay more—levied upon this virgin source would yield three hundred million dollars every year. That is a tidy sum and would go a long way toward providing the battleships, bombing planes, and poison gas which most Christian nations seem to feel they need to carry on.

Norwalk, Ohio, March 10 KAY JACKSON

Buy American!

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Evidently the United Cigar Stores Company is a Hearst disciple for in the window of one of its stores on our principal street is a huge sign bearing this legend under a picture of Uncle Sam:

BUY AMERICAN
Every Piece of Merchandise Displayed
in This Window Made in U. S. A.
You Help Americans—When You Buy American

Among the "pieces of merchandise displayed in this window"—and taking up most of the space in the window—are one-volume editions of Ibsen, François Villon, Rabelais, Nietzsche, Boccaccio's "Decameron," Tolstoy, Schopenhauer, Balzac's "Physiology of Marriage," and the "Arabian Nights."

Thank goodness they don't make us read American.

Wilmington, Del., February 11 ISIDORE BLEIBERG

"Inevitable War"

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Miss Dorothy Detzer, in the first sentence of her review of my book "Inevitable War," indicated an unfair attitude in that she tried to stamp me with militarism by mentioning the fact that I wrote "Troops on Riot Duty" and "The Guardsman's Handbook," but omitted to mention "Peace Insurance," a title hardly appropriate for the "militarized mind" with which she attempts to endow me.

More important is her quotation of two brief statements from my conclusions as to the navy—presumably as illustrations of what she calls banal "sophomoric drivel." The substance of these conclusions is (1) that the power of maneuver of the navy should not be restricted by considerations of local defense; and (2) that the navy should be strong enough to control our home waters, to maintain our national policies, and keep open our essential lanes of commerce. Her most serious error is in quoting, as "drivel," a principle that is well recognized by all who know anything of strategy—namely, that even a large fleet, scattered for reasons of local defense, can be defeated by a smaller one which, remaining concentrated, outnumbers and defeats the scattered units one at a time. As for the strength which I advocate for the navy, her quotation is misleading when removed from the text, but I may ask exactly what use we have for a navy which cannot even control our own waters? However, as Miss Detzer's name appears on the letterhead of the War Resisters' League as a member of a committee to arrange a conference to encourage Americans to refuse to fight for their country under any conditions, she is consistent in this respect, at least.

In one instance Miss Detzer is guilty of one of the meanest forms of misquotation—that of omission—when she leaves out the end of a sentence quoted. After quoting my opinion that, in war, "the thing that stands out most in my memory is not the comparatively few who broke down, but the hundreds of thousands who did not break down until shot down," she omitted the remainder of the sentence in which I said that I was most impressed by those "who went into war, did their duty as they saw it, and came out of the war still reasonably normal, neither turning themselves into beasts nor into cringing craven cowards." "That," I added, "is the remarkable thing about war, and not the cowardice and bestiality that these [pacifist] authors love to portray." I still am glad to believe that the stoic heroism of mankind as a class is much more re-

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markable than the weakness which some human beings show in battle, but if Miss Detzer was attempting to imply that I favored war, it is indication that she did not read the book. I favor war no more than I favor crime—but both are inevitable for years.

The final bit of "drivel" which Miss Detzer quotes is my conclusion that it is "unwise for any nation to send militarily uninformed delegates, with pacifistic tendencies, to conferences where nations fight for strategic advantages in wars to come." Am I to understand that Miss Detzer believes that such a course is wise?

New York, March 10 RICHARD STOCKTON, 6TH

The Cuban Terror

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

How much longer must the United States be shamed by our despicable foreign policy in Cuba? That island today is the scene of a political reign of terror. There is no freedom of speech or liberty of the press. A rigid censorship prevails. Criticism of the administration is barred; foreign papers are seized and confiscated. The University of Havana has been closed for several years and many students are in exile.

Nine-tenths of the decent element in Cuba are opposed to Machado. It is only through military control that the government is able to carry out its barbarous program in the face of nation-wide resentment. Numerous political prisoners are still in jail. Members of the opposition who try to leave the country are denied military passes in order that they may be rounded up and shot at leasure. Killings and mysterious disappearances are of daily occurrence.

Our obligation to Cuba is clear. According to the Platt Amendment we are to insure the establishment of constitutional government in Cuba. Yet the very principles which we are pledged to see maintained are grossly violated under our very nose by a refractory dictatorship, and a peaceful and high-minded people have been brought to the brink of desperation.

New York, March 10 WILLIAM NAYLOR

Technocracy

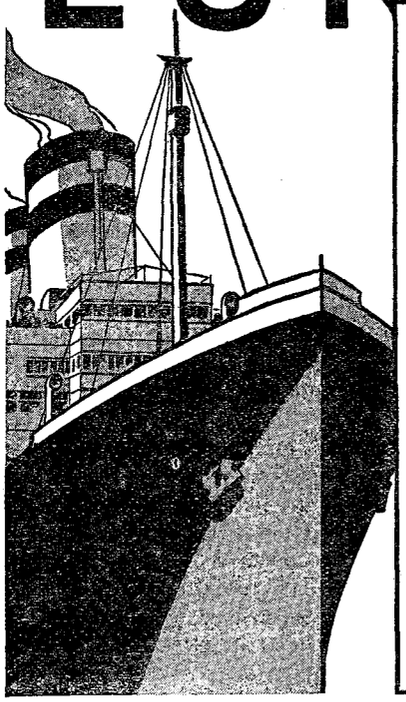
TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

As long ago as 1654 the German epigrammatist, Friedrich von Logau, had discovered a man who could easily be called a super-technocrat. Your readers may be interested in the original rhymes which are quoted here in modernized spelling.

Technikus kann alle Sachen:
Andre lehren, selber machen,
Reiten kann er, fechten, tanzen,
Bauen kann er Städt' und Schanzen,
Singen kann er, messen, rechnen,
Schön und zierlich kann er sprechen,
Staat und Land kann er regieren,
Recht und Sachen kann er führen,
Alle Krankheit kann er dämpfen,
Für die Wahrheit kann er kämpfen,
Alle Sterne kann er nennen,
Bös' und Gutes kann er kennen,
Gold und Silber kann er suchen,
Brauen kann er, backen, kochen,
Pflanzen kann er, säen, pflügen,
Und zuletzt erschrecklich—lügen!

Urbana, Ill., March 1 CHARLES A. WILLIAMS

EUROPE



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Books and Drama

All Foxes

By ROBERT LIDDELL LOWE

All foxes in their sapience
Predict each winter's imminence:
Luxuriant of clothes, they go
Significant of future snow.
Small covenants of instant spring,
Birds fly upon prophetic wing,
Attesting that the stream long lost
Will move, enfranchised from the frost.
With such supply of augury
Men know which season is to be;
Yet they are never weather-wise
Though they employ attentive eyes:
A certain winter and a spring
Own dates beyond their reckoning.
For seasons in the skull elude
Prediction: No mind's solitude
Was ever host to fur or feather
Prophetic of approaching weather.

Professor Whitehead's Theology

Adventures of Ideas. By Alfred North Whitehead. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

PROFESSOR WHITEHEAD'S new treatise forms a puzzling volume. Less specialized than his "Process and Reality," it is in parts less difficult than that work, but the range of its topics is wider, and merely to list the subjects of discussion would, indeed, more than fill the space allotted to this review. The four parts are respectively headed Sociological, Cosmological, Philosophical, and Civilization. In varying degrees the treatment of each is historical, expository, and metaphysical. Professor Whitehead, in other words, attempts to sketch the development of the leading ideas which have molded civilization, to analyze the nature and implications of each, and then to evolve a comprehensive metaphysical system capable of defending and promoting certain attitudes of his own. The result is much brilliant historical generalization, much subtle restatement of various philosophic positions, and, finally, the formulation of a kind of poetic neo-Platonism which, to me at least, seems to lose itself in a cloud of words concerning "immanence." This is

> . . . the doctrine of the unity of nature, and the unity of each human life. The conclusion follows that our consciousness of the self-identity pervading our life-thread of occasions is nothing other than knowledge of a special strand of unity within the general unity of nature. . . , The universe is dual because each occasion unites its formal immediacy with objective otherness.

The preface to the whole is somewhat misleading. We are, it is true, warned that the title is to be taken in a double sense, that the book is to be concerned with both a history of the adventure of thought and with the particular adventures of the author; but one is hardly prepared for the violence of the transition. As for the earlier portions, they are extremely brilliant. They do full justice to Professor Whitehead's vast familiarity with philosophical literature and to the extraordinary subtlety of his mind when dealing with technical problems. His account of the influence of certain conceptions, like that of the inherent dignity of the human being, upon such political institutions as slavery and, particularly, his analysis of the conditions necessary before such influence can be effective are especially noteworthy. So, too, to take examples from a different field, are his exposition of the various conceptions of the meaning of natural law and his formulation of the conception of physical laws as, in large part, conventional rather than either consequences of the essence of things or merely descriptions of observations. Indeed, all those portions of the book which are concerned with the role played by metaphysical ideas in influencing the direction of politics and physical science alike are admirable. But presently one finds oneself involved in what is essentially an apology for Plato and those Christian theologians who "have the distinction of being the only thinkers who, in fundamental metaphysical doctrine, have improved upon Plato."

Thus the book becomes essentially a defense not only of Christian ethics, but, in effect, of Christian dogma—though with a proviso of which the implications are not entirely clear, namely, the proviso that the kind of knowledge formulated in dogma is a kind which must never be regarded as "certain knowledge." The final service of philosophy, says Professor Whitehead, is to "seek the insight, dim though it be, to escape the wide wreckage of a race of beings sensitive to values beyond those of mere animal enjoyment." Plato, who anticipated "the doctrine of grace 700 years before the age of Pelagius and Augustine," pointed the way, and "the power of Christianity lies in its revelation in act of that which Plato divined in theory." The attack of the liberal clergy and laymen during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries upon systematic theology was, he continues, entirely misconceived, because it attacked the ideas themselves instead of attacking the dogmatic intolerance with which they were held. "An attack upon systematic thought is treason to civilization." A new religious reformation is in progress based upon the fact that it is possible to reach a general agreement concerning those elements in intimate human experience and in general history which exemplify "that ultimate theme of the divine immanence, as a completion required by our cosmological outlook."

At the end of the third section of the treatise Professor Whitehead remarks that "the task of theology is to show how the world is founded on something beyond mere transient fact, and how it issues in something beyond the perishing occasion." To that task he then proceeds to apply himself with all the subtlety at his command, only to issue with statements of which those quoted at the end of the first paragraph of this review may serve as typical examples. Whether such statements are meaningful or meaningless may remain a matter of opinion, but what seems to me a weakness of the treatise may be illustrated in another way.

Professor Whitehead, for example, uses the effectiveness of Gandhi as an illustration of a principle, "discovered by Plato late in life—the principle, that is to say, that the divine element in the world is to be conceived as a persuasive agency and not as a coercive agency." Now this may be truth or a fancy, but most people will be inclined to feel that the exact relationship between a familiar fact like the effectiveness of a great leader and a semi-mystical statement like that attributed to Plato is too dubious to be of much value in either explaining the familiar fact or supporting the semi-mystical generalization. For one thing, the effectiveness of armies is quite as familiar as the effectiveness of non-resistance. For another, to make the assumption that in these cases "persuasion" is "divine," while force is not, is merely to play with words in a manner which may have

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beneficial consequences by inclining peoples to peace with one another, but which has little to do with exact thought of the kind in which Professor Whitehead excels so long as he confines himself to the technical problems of philosophy.

Indeed, one cannot help feeling that the whole treatise is a tremendous attempt on the part of the author to supply some sort of nexus between two halves of himself. As a simple human being he admires tolerance, desires peace, and approves of Gandhi. He has, besides, a perhaps long-ago-conditioned and largely emotional attachment to Christianity. But these things have little to do with the abstruse speculations with which most of his adult life has been busy, and he is determined to connect them. The attempt is understandable and perhaps laudable, but it is hardly effective. Most people who share his simple faiths have no need of metaphysical subtleties to support them. On the other hand, probably no philosopher who is not, for temperamental reasons, already in agreement will be won over to Christianity or anything like it by the analysis. Professor Whitehead is simply meeting an unusual personal difficulty. He is using super-subtlety to elude the difficulties with which subtlety has presented him.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

An American Tragedy

This Bright Summer. Anonymous. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

FROM time to time the smooth counterpane under which our fellow-citizens lead their supposedly conventional existence is kicked off by some over-violent commotion under the bedclothes, and the naked flesh of their lives is exposed. It gets into the newspapers, and suddenly Middletown seems strangely like Dostoevski's St. Petersburg, and the Bronx like Hardy's Wessex. But violent or tragical events in themselves, however faithfully reproduced in novels or plays, are "tragedies" only in the tabloid sense. Dreiser's "An American Tragedy" remains a newspaper tragedy, even though it has been put between boards. Whereas O'Neill's worst plays are saved from mediocrity by the tragic aura with which he is able to invest his principal characters. Emphatically, tragedy is made, not born.

The great religious myths of antiquity, including the Christ story, are tragedies in the highest sense of the word, but they too are highly elaborated products of collective imagination, artistic creations in the same sense as "Hamlet" and "The Idiot." What are the elements of tragedy? We do not know all, but some of them we do know. There is, for instance, the classic requirement that the hero must be a god or a king. That still stands, even in these proletarian times. Common people suffer misfortunes—only gods and heroes are capable of tragedy. If a proletarian artist wishes to create a tragedy about workingmen he must be able to deify them into importance as his great bourgeois predecessors deified their middle-class heroes. This gift of artistic transfiguration is a rare endowment, and to him who hath it much may be forgiven.

It is this quality which makes "This Bright Summer" a distinguished novel. For that much might be forgiven, but fortunately the author has not drawn too heavily upon his credit. Style, plot, and characterization blend here in a major tragic note for the like of which one has to go outside recent fiction to the poetry of Robinson Jeffers and the plays of O'Neill. Even the relatively colorless characters of the hero and heroine have their virtue in bringing into sharper relief the looming figures in the background which dominate this somber tableau. The story is framed in an isolated village founded a century ago by a mad preacher in the hills of Vermont. Sarah, the daughter of Enoch Wales, a creature of unearthly beauty and purity (don't blush for the author—Wassermann and Dostoevski before him have also gone in for such concoctions!), is courted by Mat Carver and Sam Hallowell. There is a blood feud between the Carvers and Hallowells. Sarah's father, who is drawn incestuously to her, is set upon marrying her to Sam Hallowell, the village roué. Unable to have her himself, he looks forward with a perverse pleasure to assaulting her vicariously through Sam. Mat Carver and Enoch Wales are the "originals" of the novel. There is an animal cleanliness about Mat's brute body and soul, and the terrible beauty of a rutting stallion in his lust for Sarah. Before the two or rather three rivals learn of it, Sarah is wooed and won by Lake Carver, Mat's gentle younger brother. There is a brief breathing spell in the evil storm which Sarah's loveliness draws down upon her like a fatal magnet, but finally it bursts, overwhelming her and Lake, Mat and Sam and her father, Enoch.

The raw material of "This Bright Summer"—incest, rape, castration, insanity—will inevitably call Faulkner to mind, but, as has been remarked, the kinship of the author is rather with Robinson Jeffers. He is frankly heroic, and despite its realistic associations, his psychopathic material lends itself ideally to such treatment. For in modern times the unconscious is the last refuge of the heroic—as Freud and Joyce and Jeffers has each in his own way discovered. Like Jeffers, the present author models his most loathsome types into a demonic nobility and orchestrates his violence into beauty. The rape of Sarah by Mat, realistic as anything in "Sanctuary," has a savage grandeur about it, a majesty of horror not to be found in Faulkner. The castration of the drunken Enoch by the village mob as he holds forth to them against the lure of the flesh becomes uncannily like a crucifixion. It stems from the fact that the author's people are all-important to him, whereas Faulkner parades his indifference to his. Realism is no arbiter here. The heroic and the realistic are equally valid approaches, philosophically as well as aesthetically. But the latter has not produced any great tragedies.

ALTER BRODY

A Great Obscurity

Vie de Lucien Herr. By Charles Andler. Paris: Les Editions Rieder. 30 francs.

LUCIEN HERR was for nearly forty years the librarian of the Ecole Normale Supérieure of Paris. Nothing more. He wrote some book reviews, generally ferocious, and contributed to "La Grande Encyclopédie" the article on Hegel, was for some time secretary of the *Revue de Paris,* translated Professor Max Farrand's book on the United States, gave a great deal of copy to the journal of Jaurès, *l'Humanité,* and did various anonymous editorial jobs, especially on the last volumes of the "Histoire de France," by Ernest Lavisse. That is all. He died in 1926 at the age of sixty-two. Many men about whom no book will ever be written have left behind more imposing literary baggage.

Why did Professor Charles Andler, of the Collège de France, author of the masterly and definitive work on Nietzsche, devote these 316 enthusiastic pages to a polygraph whose very name is unknown to 95 per cent of his compatriots? The reason is fully explained in this biography, written with the thoroughness that M. Andler brings to all his work and with the warmth of a faithful and admiring friend. Lucien Herr, son of an Alsatian schoolmaster, himself a graduate in the same class as Joseph Bédier and Emile Mâle of that Ecole Normale which has given to France hundreds of its best teachers, writers, and statesmen, was a unique character. In a country where the desire for advancement and the quest for honors and distinctions are well-nigh universal, he chose to be nothing but the librarian of the school from which he had just graduated. His

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training as a philosopher would have taken him to the Sorbonne; he had the material of an epoch-making book on Hegel which he never finished. His wide knowledge, his versatility, his prodigious memory were the envy and admiration of his classmates, his professors, and all the generations of young men, the intellectual elite of France, and a very critical lot at that, who passed through the school. There was nothing, seemingly, in the most varied fields—philosophy, sciences, philology, literature, politics, history, and above all music—that he had not looked into and that he did not know. And in every branch of human knowledge he prided himself on being up to date. His biographer says of him: "He was perhaps the last scholar to have carried in his head the complete cyclopedia of the historical, philological, and moral sciences of our time." He read every morning an English, a German, and a Russian newspaper. For he was not merely concerned with the dead wood of so-called scholarship. He took a deep interest in the great social and political problems of his time. He was an active and ardent Socialist, who exercised a strong influence on Jaurès and perhaps determined his "conversion." He played a conspicuous part in the fight of the intellectuals for Dreyfus. At one time he thought of creating a French periodical on the model of *The Nation*.

Of all his activities, which M. Andler describes in full detail, none was perhaps more far-reaching than his role as counselor and guide of the hundreds of young scholars who came to him for advice. In the key position that he occupied, looked up to by his colleagues and by the students, his influence was tremendous and his prestige unquestioned. Many have regretted, and M. Andler voices their feeling, that Herr did not leave behind him some big work worthy of his intellectual power. Perhaps he was too busy accumulating knowledge to have time to dispense it in the form of books. Perhaps he thought that there were enough people cluttering up the stacks. He was content to guide and inspire others in the performance of their work. The gratitude of his disciples and the admirable biography of his friend and compatriot Andler will save his name from oblivion.

OTHON GUERLAC

Documentary Evidence

Mary Baker Eddy: The Truth and the Tradition. By Ernest Sutherland Bates and John V. Dittemore. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

THE story behind this book is interesting. Early in the century, "through a personal experience which resulted in a great improvement in my health," Mr. Dittemore became interested in Christian Science, resigned an important business position, disposed of his stock holdings, and came to be one of the leaders of the Christian Science movement. For ten years he served as a director of the Mother Church in Boston and as a trustee of Mrs. Eddy's estate. Then something seems to have happened, for we are told that he is now no longer associated with the Christian Science church "in any way"; indeed, he now appears before the public as a collaborator in this distinctly unfavorable life of the church's founder. What changed this American Manning from convert to apostate we are not informed. He simply says that since 1907 he has been collecting data relating to Mrs. Eddy—a research which was facilitated by his means and his access to official archives. He disapproved of "the unacknowledged but none the less actual determination" of Christian Science officials "to create a legendary Mrs. Eddy." In 1929, aroused by the attempt of the church to boycott the publishers of E. F. Dakin's "Mrs. Eddy," he took three trunkfuls of data to Dr. Bates, a biographer by profession. Mr. Dittemore supplied documents and counsel; Dr. Bates did "the actual literary labor." The present book resulted.

It is an amazingly painstaking job. Had Mr. Dittemore called in Pinkerton's, the true Mrs. Eddy could not have been hounded down more relentlessly. Dr. Bates seems to have leapt at the chance to sift the valuable evidence, knock down the prettifications of the official panegyrists, and pierce through the misrepresentations of Mrs. Eddy herself. The gilt-removing, truth-uncovering work of Mr. Dakin is most exhaustively continued. Not a stone of "the tradition" is left unturned. In fact, Dr. Bates has done such a zealot's job of exposure that the book, unlike Mr. Dakin's, lacks humanity. Where, we wonder, is the Mrs. Eddy who attracted so many followers? So much of her could not have been avarice, ambition, wilfulness, prevarication. What is more, some of her religious inspiration must have been authentic. The tendency of Dr. Bates's writing, while yielding verbal cognizance to her positive attributes, is to dwell too much on her failings and cultural inadequacies. In spite of his wise refusal to compromise his material by advancing any single thesis, he has prepared not a biography but a tract, a tract *contra* "the tradition."

In their general conclusions regarding "this amazingly paradoxical character," Mr. Dittemore says in his preface, he and Dr. Bates are "wholly at one." The reader will be justified in wondering if Mr. Dittemore, in outgrowing Mrs. Eddy, has not gone a little too far the other way by accepting the rather smug standards that are now used to demolish her. It was not necessary to treat her with so much irony. None of the book's drawbacks, however, will invalidate the service performed by the collaborators in making available this evidence, which should do much to remove the subject at last from a fruitless dispute over facts.

GERALD SYKES

The Goethean Ideal

Out of My Life and Thought. By Albert Schweitzer. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

Albert Schweitzer. By John Dickinson Regester. The Abingdon Press. $1.50.

"A FEW years after the close of the World War," says Professor Regester, "the general public in Europe began to hear of a Dr. Albert Schweitzer who was trying to raise funds to continue a medical service which, with his own resources and the gifts of interested friends, he had been carrying on among the blacks of equatorial Africa. Now he had published a series of philosophical lectures that had been delivered at Oxford, or again he had just given a brilliant organ recital in one of the capitals of Europe for the benefit of his mission. People began to identify him with the Albert Schweitzer whom they had previously heard of as a rationalistic higher critic." Others no doubt recognized him as the author of the outstanding book on J. S. Bach, "Bach, the Poet Musician," which a few years ago was awarded the Goethe prize in Frankfort. This was the man selected last year to deliver the address at the Goethe centennial celebration in Frankfort, because it seemed to the committee making the selection that among living men he came nearest to the Goethean ideal, both as a man and an artist.

At the age of thirty Schweitzer had already distinguished himself in music and in theology. He was a member of the theological faculty of the University of Strasbourg and a preacher at the Church of St. Nicholas in that city. Then in 1905 he decided to study medicine to prepare himself for work as a medical missionary in Africa. He came to this decision quite simply from having read an article in the journal of a French missionary society on the urgent need of such work

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among natives of the French Congo. But if the decision was simple, carrying it out was in many ways exceedingly difficult. Even his closest friends and relatives very generally thought the project a mad one. Nearly all of them believed—and felt bound to tell him—that he was burying his real talent and chasing a will-o'-the-wisp. "Now," he writes, "began years of constant struggle against fatigue . . ." But against great odds, he completed his medical course, and a further course in tropical medicine in Paris; and raised sufficient funds to establish a small hospital at Lambarene in French Equatorial Africa, in which he worked from 1913 to 1917.

The World War tragically interrupted his work for seven years, during which he was transported to Europe and interned in France and Switzerland. In 1924 he returned to find the hospital in ruins, and at once set about rebuilding it. Here as elsewhere his gigantic physical and mental energy enabled him to do the work of half a dozen men—clearing the ground, building huts, planting fruit trees and oil palms, in addition to carrying on his medical work and an enormous correspondence with Europe in regard to the needs of the hospital and other matters. He even buried the dead because he would not force native laborers to do so in violation of tribal taboos. And at the same time he was playing Bach at night in the depth of the jungle on the metal-encased piano which had been presented to him by the Paris Bach Society, continuing his editing of Bach's works, and developing and writing the philosophy of reverence for life which is contained in his book "Civilization and Ethics."

Professor Regester's book is a clear and concise summary of Schweitzer's contributions. This is now supplemented by Schweitzer's own rich autobiographical record. Admirable as both these books are, however, in their different ways, they are insufficient. Readers encountering Schweitzer here for the first time get the kernel of his thought and feeling, but this thought and feeling have been developed by him so richly in his books that not to know these is to know him inadequately. In every field of thought or life which he has touched his contribution has been individual and important. But greater than any of them, in a time which seems so lacking in individual greatness of mind and heart, is the contribution of his personality. His prodigious intellectual and artistic endowment, his almost superhuman energy, give a legendary quality to his achievements which leaves one at a loss for contemporary terms in which to describe them. Only Nansen among his contemporaries seemed to approach him in his combination of idealism and courage, of intellectual eminence, integrity, and practical ability. He has been called a saint, but unlike most saints he believes in thinking. He is a mystic who does not shun facts or reason, a hero who does not feel himself heroic, a supremely great individual whose life affirms the value of individual thought and action.

MARTHA GRUENING

Transition in China

Land and Labor in China. By R. H. Tawney. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

IN a shorter version this volume was first published as a memorandum to the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Shanghai in 1931. Interesting testimony to its value is found in the number of quotations from it that have appeared in authoritative works since published. The book is an accurate, so far as uncertain Chinese statistics allow, an objective, so far as a dynamic situation permits, and a strikingly well-written survey of present Chinese agriculture, industry, and, in less detail, education. It is interpreted with a discernment and sympathy that must be acknowledged even by a critic who feels that Mr. Tawney's conclusions are neither radical nor practical.

The book corrects some common misconceptions. China is huge, but uneven fertility contracts the inhabited areas to a fraction of the whole. The river valleys and the plains have the look of an unending village. Peasants till minute farms that in average years barely return subsistence, and in bad years bring famine. The Chinese farmer's reputation for skill and industry is deserved; but with modern implements and a more scientific procedure his lazier rivals in the West get bigger crops per acre. Greater handicaps than this backwardness in tools and technique are the lack of roads, which makes it impossible for the farmer to dispose of his crops except to local factors, to whom he sells in time of glut and from whom he buys in time of scarcity; the insecurity of government, which exposes him to the exactions of the local armies and gangs of bandits; usury, high rentals, and other incidentals of an economic system which here, as everywhere else, operates in the interests of the few at the expense of the many.

It has been assumed that China is rich in the natural resources on which a great industrial system can be based. This is a mistake. Her deposits of coal and iron are relatively small, and a large part of them are in Manchuria and have fallen into alien hands. Her richest resource is a numerous, intelligent, skilful, and industrious population. Industry is gaining rapidly, but it is still confined to the margins touched by the Occident. The hope that China, in its industrialization, would omit the horrors that accompanied that process in the West is a pious futility. Only a planned economy, like that of Russia, presupposes sufficient social control for such a hope. In the meanwhile, infants labor, live, and die in the mills, and all the miseries of human exploitation are present. The advance of industry is moderated, not by humanity, but by a usurious and unstable government and by lack of communications. It is a longer journey from the center to the periphery of China than from a Chinese port to a port in Europe.

Now enlarged communications are impossible without orderly government, and orderly government is impossible without enlarged communications. The Chinese situation is packed with dilemmas like these. A new governing class must be recruited, and it can only be recruited by modern education; but modern education at present is so enthusiastically Western that its students are carried out of touch with Chinese life.

The situation at the moment shows China paralyzed by her dilemmas. But there can be no question of her ultimate success in working her way out. She is passing through the most gigantic transition from one civilization to another ever witnessed in human history. Never has so large a population over so vast an area changed its way of life so radically. Other races in similar situations have disappeared. The increase of the Chinese race in a period like this is an extraordinary sign of vitality.

Is the transition to be revolutionary or evolutionary? Mr. Tawney advises a cautious rate of change, and a larger use of Western administrative technique. But is caution practical or even possible? When a civilization transforms itself it requires revolution to supply it with energy or momentum. Caution in political affairs is synonymous with inertia. Japan required a revolution to Westernize herself; Russia required a revolution to industrialize herself. Revolution has been endemic in China since 1860 because revolution is called for by the logic of the situation; it has been an imprisoned revolution because of imperialism. And as successive Chinese governments yield to the seductions of caution, the mandate falls from their hands. The growing "red" revolution of China seems likely to become the heir of the compromising Nanking regime, even if the conflict with Japan should save that regime for a time.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

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Shorter Notices

Modern German Literature. By Arthur Eloesser. Translated from the German by Catherine Alison Phillips. With an Introduction by Ludwig Lewisohn. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

Dr. Eloesser's two-volume "Die Deutsche Literatur vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart" has already established itself in Germany as a standard history. Nothing but praise is due Mr. Knopf for his enterprise in publishing the second volume for the benefit of American readers. The complicated story of German literature is traced from the new post-1870 empire down almost to the present day. Dr. Eloesser's prime merit as a literary historian is his powerful common sense, which refuses to be fooled by the fantastic excesses to which the German literary mind has been all too prone during the last thirty years. Hauptmann, Wassermann, and Thomas Mann emerge as the leading figures of the period; and Dr. Eloesser's best pages are devoted to the author of "The Magic Mountain." He is less trustworthy, as is only to be expected, when he deals with more recent figures. Many students will no doubt find him defective in his appreciation of men as diverse as Robert Musil and Lion Feuchtwanger. Dr. Eloesser stresses the regional interpretation of literature in a manner which takes us back to the methods of Taine. While this mode of analysis has its merits, it will probably prove puzzling to the American reader who lacks a specialized acquaintance with German topography and geography. Dr. Eloesser's rather heavy and uncompromising style will also prove a stumbling-block. But these are not fatal difficulties; and the intelligent reader who wishes to acquire a sound knowledge of the development of German poetry, fiction, and drama during the last half-century may turn with confidence to Dr. Eloesser's conscientious and learned chronicle, admirably translated by Catherine Phillips.

The Natural Sciences. By Bernhard Bavink. Translated from the German by H. Stafford Hatfield. The Century Company. $7.50.

The subtitle of this comprehensive book is "An Introduction to the Scientific Philosophy of Today." The author presents in great detail and with unusual accuracy, for a work covering so many different fields, the data on which he builds his philosophy. Nor does he limit himself to the more technical problems, such as causality, mechanism, and vitalism; he considers also music, religion, and social relations in his efforts to discover how "nature herself stands toward our human judgments of value."

Earth's Processional. By David Morton. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.

Here is a new collection of beautifully turned sonnets by David Morton. And in this volume are some lyrics equally well written. The setting of these poems is, as always with Mr. Morton, New England. The descriptions of that countryside are delicately lovely. If the poet has nothing strikingly individual to say, no poetic method which is unique, no imagery which impresses us as unusual, he has, at least, excellent taste, a sensitive eye and ear, and unusual perception of the more fragile emotions evoked by the physical scene.

Barabbas. By Sara Bard Field. Albert and Charles Boni. $2.50.

This is the story in verse of Barabbas, who was compelled by hatred to become the leader of the Jewish nationalists. When Barabbas is freed and Christ is crucified, the rebel's philosophy is opposed to Christ's philosophy of love as the only conquering force. And Barabbas is never again free of the doubt in his soul; never again, although he joins Agrippa, becomes his counselor, lives on as a zealot into a terrible old age, can he be sure that his way to freedom is the right way. Sara Bard Field has told her story skilfully; her characterizations are intelligent and convincing. There is an epic quality in her use of Jewish history. If the story does not rise to great intensity, it is because the poetry itself has not that power. But the narrative is interesting, the details, partly Biblical and partly supplied, are believable. And the poet keeps a fine impartiality in relating the struggle between two religious ideas.

Must We Starve? By Scott Nearing. The Vanguard Press. $2.50.

Professor Nearing begins with the assertion that so long as the capitalist world endures, "mass hunger has come to stay." He ends with the contention that only by creating a universal Communist society can we find "the one way out of the chaos of capitalist imperialism, of exploitation, war, hard times, and mass starvation." Between these two statements he has packed a brief but factually rich history of our "fall from prosperity to wholesale starvation"; an analysis of the economic breakdown based more or less on the Marxist method; a study of the futile and extremely feeble attempt of a few capitalists and petty bourgeois to turn the world to a planned economy as the solution of the crisis; and, finally, a presentation in elementary form of the Marxist-Leninist solution. Here and there Dr. Nearing's conclusions lack plausibility. The central argument is not always persuasive. But in electing to rest his case primarily on the hard, indisputable facts of economic disintegration, which the capitalist world itself has turned up for him in the last four years, Dr. Nearing has been able to build up a powerful argument for a new order of society. That that new order should take the form of collectivism, that is, communism, seems to follow in a most natural way.

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Films

Virtue in 1933

IT happens that the climaxes of the two pictures seen this week, one at New York's largest theater and the other at one of its smallest, hinge on the same problem of conduct in a young girl's mind. The problem, of course, is not a particularly new one. Long ago there was a picture called "Way Down East," in which Miss Lillian Gish was to be seen grappling with it in a manner destined to inspire some of the most luscious paragraphs of Joseph Hergesheimer. And there has been no end of pictures ever since built around the same problem. The only reason that one calls attention to its recurrence as a major theme at this time is that it may serve to illustrate further the profound change that has come over movie producers and audiences alike in their attitude toward this and similar problems. No longer is there a certain risk of sympathy in showing the hero in the arms of his mistress, the heroine having a child by someone other than her husband, the ingenue making a few mistakes before settling down to a closer observance of the conventions. What influences, we may ask, have been responsible for this very rapid change in the last few years? First of all, unquestionably, there has been the necessity on the part of the talkies of drawing on certain contemporary books and plays in which the modification of conventional standards and values was first reflected. In this list belong "Strange Interlude," "A Farewell to Arms," "Tomorrow and Tomorrow," and "Animal Kingdom." There has been also the subtler influence of the European Continent as it is insinuated in the work of such directors as Lubitsch, D'Arrast, and Von Sternberg, and of such players as Chevalier and Dietrich. And there has been lastly the increasing sophistication of the American movie audience itself, which could sit unabashed through such pictures as "Our Betters" and "Christopher Strong" at the Radio City Music Hall.

In "Christopher Strong," for example, the action begins, cynically enough, with one of those post-war London treasure hunts in which prizes are offered to anyone who can find a married man of five years' tenure who has never been unfaithful or a girl over twenty who has never had a love affair. Of course the man (Colin Clive) and the girl (Katherine Hepburn) are promptly found, thrown together under suitable circumstances on the French Riviera, and involved in the usual complications. The first complication is the man's wife, played in a painfully whimpering fashion by Billie Burke, and the second is the unexpectedly moralistic attitude adopted by his daughter (Helen Chandler). But the climax, as we have hinted, occurs when Miss Hepburn finds herself faced with the problem that occupied Miss Gish in "Way Down East." The only difference is that here there is no remorse, no guilt, no playing on any but our most romantic feelings. Miss Hepburn ascends to a great altitude in her airplane, removes the oxygen mask from her face, and crashes to the ground. From such a summary it is obvious how much all this is reminiscent of the sort of thing Michael Arlen was turning out several years ago. Only the acting of Miss Hepburn and Mr. Clive makes it very much worth while. For Miss Hepburn, it should be reported, continues to communicate that quality of desperate uncertainty in the modern personality which has been one of her more notable additions to Hollywood acting in the present season.

It may seem like a contradiction to say that "Hertha's Erwachen," the Ufa production at the Little Carnegie, was held up for some time because of censorship objections. The story is no more unconventional than that of the Radio City picture:

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a young girl in a provincial German town is seduced by a commercial traveler from Berlin and is faced with the problem of whether or not she should have her child. What offended, or at least disturbed, the censors was probably the earnestness with which the problem was presented by the director. In addition to various explicit conversations, there was throughout a stressing of the girl's emotional state which might easily have been found uncomfortable. Possibly also there was in the uncut version a more definite reference to the tabooed subject of abortion. But what the temporary banning of the picture showed was that certain problems are offensive only if they are treated with too great emphasis or if their more serious aspects are not properly ignored in the solution.

WILLIAM TROY

Drama

The Minutes Stand Approved

THE title of "Both Your Houses" (Royale Theater) does not refer to Capulets and Montagues but to Senators and Representatives. In it Maxwell Anderson takes up the ways of Washington politicians, and the very first thing to be said is simply that his play is vastly more entertaining than any description of it is likely to be able to suggest. I confess that I went without very high hopes. Despite the talents of its author and the enthusiasm of preliminary reports, I was more ready to believe that a satire on corruption would be well intentioned and laudable than I was to expect a pleasant evening; but I was wrong again. Mr. Anderson does achieve his satiric purpose. He does prod the conscience of his auditors. But that is not all. With the help of the Theater Guild's excellent production he also provides a hilarious evening, and makes the passage of a monstrous appropriation bill through Congress exciting besides.

Perhaps the chief explanation of this happy result lies in the fact that the author did not allow either his earnestness or his indignation to make him forget that only characters with a life and individuality of their own can prevent a play with a purpose from sinking into prosy dulness. His hero—the innocently virtuous youth from a backwoods constituency—is slightly pale, and if this hero's opponents were as nearly abstract as he, then "a plague on both your houses" would probably sum up our reaction to the play. But, fortunately, Evil is richly and humorously characterized. The austere but not quite impeccable chairman of the committee and the likable old scoundrel who has gradually evolved from honest youth into a complacently swinish old age are real persons who give to the piece that depth which constitutes it real drama.

The speech in which the latter describes how he used to battle with his good angel until the time came when he would look around for that adversary only to find the angel no longer there, is very nearly a great speech, because of the subtle, very human mingling of real sincerity with mere parliamentary orotundity; and, indeed, whenever that particular Congressman speaks, the play grows rich with purely human values. Nor does he, like the others, succumb to fear in the end, for when the little Daniel announces to the collected company that their day has passed, he enunciates his great and comforting faith: "It may be. But, gentlemen, my opinion is that we have only *begun* to tap this country's vast natural resources of political apathy." He may, as a matter of fact, well be taken as a model by those other playwrights who are anxious to write plays with a social purpose. Bunyan is the only great imaginative writer who ever succeeded in persuading the world to be interested in the ab-

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□ JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH says □

A SATURDAY NIGHT. Playhouse. Peggy Wood in an innocuous but amusing domestic comedy.

ALIEN CORN. Belasco Theater. Katharine Cornell in Sidney Howard's play about art and the Middle West. Not the playwright's best.

AMERICAN DREAM. Guild Theater. Very serious trilogy about our lost ideals.

BIOGRAPHY. Avon Theater. An intelligent and sinewy comedy about what happens when a cultivated woman of the world tries to choose between a pompous opportunist and an unmanageable idealist.

BOTH YOUR HOUSES. Royale Theater. Reviewed this week.

DESIGN FOR LIVING. Ethel Barrymore Theater. Noel Coward and the Lunts having a good time in a play by the former.

DINNER AT EIGHT. Music Box Theater. Lively but pretentious melodrama by Edna Ferber and George Kaufman.

GOODBYE AGAIN. Masque Theater. Fine performances by Osgood Perkins and others make this farce comedy very funny.

ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON. Little Theater. Unpretentious comedy about a small town dentist. A surprise hit.

THE LATE CHRISTOPHER BEAN. Henry Miller Theater. Light comedy from the French completely rewritten by Sidney Howard and charmingly played by Pauline Lord and others. All things considered, it is much the most enjoyable comedy of the season.

stract conflict between Mr. Badman and Christian, and even in this case I must confess that I am more willing to accept the traditional estimate of "Pilgrim's Progress" than I am to read it again.

Some who know Washington tell me that the bargaining and other corruption are not quite so frankly cynical as they are represented in this satire. Others, I am told, feel that the opening of the new deal is no time to present so unflattering a picture of the legislative process. However, I am prevented by ignorance from being too much troubled by the first of these objections, and by a certain fear that overnight reformations are likely to be less than entirely complete, from being troubled by the second. However, those who feel sure that crookedness has now departed permanently from Congress are at liberty to regard "Both Your Houses" as a purely historical drama. It will still be amusing.

"Strike Me Pink," the new musical revue with Jimmy Durante, Lupe Velez, and Hope Williams, scored such an instantaneous hit at the Majestic Theater that it had, so it is said, the proud distinction of being the only theatrical entertainment to sell out the house on Bank Holiday Saturday. It is, as a matter of fact, a more than ordinarily entertaining —as well as a more than ordinarily noisy—revue. The movies have made Mr. Durante's nose far more famous locally than that of Bergerac, and the audience did not seem to mind that he was handicapped by an almost total lack of material. Lupe Velez gives a delightfully malicious imitation of Gloria Swanson, and in her own person spits fire in all directions in a very satisfying fashion. There is also an extraordinary mimic named Eddie Garr, who does an Ed Wynn who is almost as funny as the original; but perhaps the best thing in the show is the burlesque on "Design for Living." As the original is not especially decent, I can only leave to the imagination what a scabrous parody would be like, though I will convey the information that the "Design for Loving" has been expanded to make room, not only for Leo and Otto, but for a stranger named Baldo, who has crashed the gate in a manner which no one exactly understands. Hope Williams achieves the apparently impossible by making herself seem much like Lynn Fontanne.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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